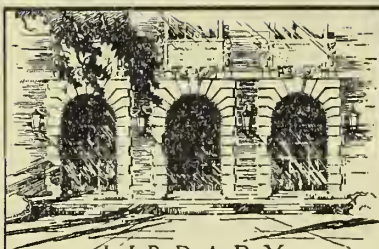


American and French Flags of The Revolution

1775-1783



Published by
PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION
PHILADELPHIA
1948

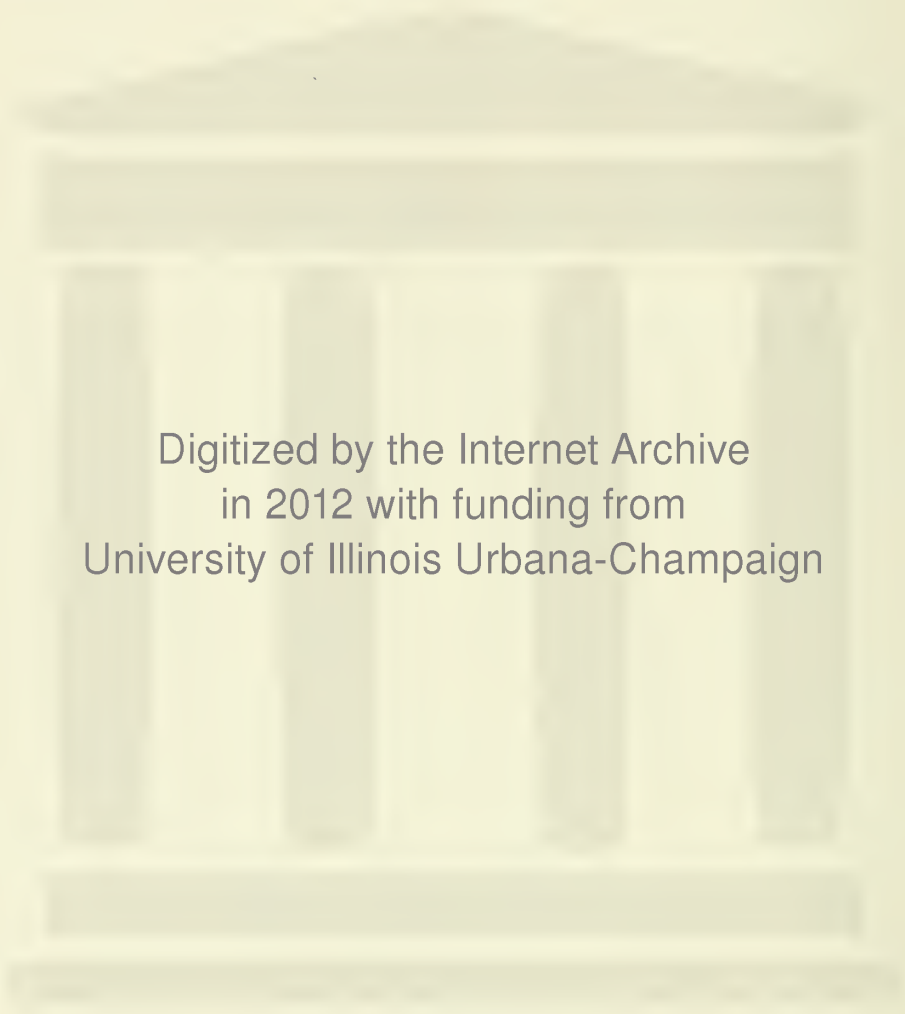


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American and French Flags
of The Revolution
1775-1783

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By
FRANK EARLE SCHERMERHORN
*former Captain of the Color Guard,
Pennsylvania Society of Sons
of the Revolution*

Published by
PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION
P H I L A D E L P H I A

1948

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Preface

THE present work is an attempt to popularize the subject of the regimental and other flags of our Revolutionary War, examining, however, the story of each flag in a semi-judicial manner, stating fact coldly where it can be or has been ascertained, but presenting also (carefully labelled as such) some of the traditions and rumor, the possible and the probable, associated with the particular flag.

It must be remembered that while positive evidence is seldom forthcoming, yet, in most cases, we are squarely confronted by the presence in our midst, after more than 150 years, of what appear, reasonably and logically, from their workmanship and from the materials used, to be some of the old flags themselves, which must be accounted for, with or without legends, and either accepted or argued out of existence as far as our Revolution is concerned.

Washington was constantly urging the colonels of his various regiments to agree upon and procure flags for their commands. Steuben provided in his regulations for two flags to each regiment. Congress and the States, however, were slow to appropriate money for such purposes, and it was not until the War was nearly over that any official flags at all were issued to our land forces. Those in use were, therefore, personal rather than official, and there must have been a great variety of them, even though only a very small number have come down to us. Davis remarks¹ that regimental flags of the thirteen original States exist only as to New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and South Carolina.² For New Jersey, he says, "not even a description of their colors exist"; and "even more remarkable that very little is known about the regimental colors of the Massachusetts troops."

This book represents original research only to a small extent. It is rather a bringing together of the results of the research work done by others. In a few of the chapters some of the text has been

1. "Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution," by Gherardi Davis, 1907; page 6.
2. Writing today, he could have added Virginia, North Carolina, and perhaps Delaware.

P R E F A C E

borrowed, practically verbatim, from the two previous flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, one published in 1903, written by Captain Henry Hobart Bellas, United States Army, the other in 1913, prepared and partly written by a Committee consisting of Harrold E. Gillingham, George C. Gillespie and Henry M. Medary. The paragraphs or passages so borrowed are marked as quoted, and are followed in each instance by this statement: "From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society; see Preface, supra."

Besides other flags, the Pennsylvania Society owns thirty-nine full-size replicas of Revolutionary War flags, thirty-two being American (including the 2nd South Carolina Regiment) and seven French. Their total cost was about \$5,000.00. They are cared for, displayed and paraded, on orders from the Society, by a select body of some sixty of its members, called the Color Guard. Excepting for errors in some details, carefully checked and corrected in the illustrations appearing in the present book, these replicas are believed to be good copies of the originals.³

In preparing this work, valuable assistance was received from both individuals and institutions, sometimes most unexpectedly. Credit has been given in the text or footnotes for much of this courteous, painstaking cooperation. Also, many of the original letters, pamphlets, booklets, prints, etc., which were thus received, are to be found, classified in Volume A of a file called "Flag Book Sources," kept during the preparation of this book, and now the property of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution. There is also a Volume B, containing a number of small books, referred to herein, which were too large to be included in Volume A of this file.

Considerable praise is due Stanley Edwards Whiteway, whose skillful drawings have made the illustrations in this book possible. Every detail in each flag drawing has been carefully considered to insure the greatest accuracy obtainable. In some cases considerable restoration was necessary. This often required intelligent inter-

3. In order that the Color Guard may carry all fifty-three of the flags pictured in the present book, the following six additional American flags would need to be acquired (plus eight more French flags) :

- (a) Stars and Stripes flown at Fort Independence in Boston Harbor in 1781 (stars in rectangular grouping, 4, 5, 4) ; Color Plate 1;
- (b) General Schuyler's Betsy Ross Flag; Color Plate 2;
- (c) Flag of the Green Mountain Boys; Color Plate 4;
- (d) Flag of Third Maryland Regiment; Color Plate 5;
- (e) Eutaw Flag; Color Plate 6;
- (f) White Plains Flag; Color Plate 6.

It is hoped, and fully expected, that, in time, well-authenticated additions will be made to the list of fifty-three flags of the Revolution shown in this book.

P R E F A C E

pretation of meagre bits of information available on missing flag parts. Mr. Whiteway received his art education in the art colony at Ogunquit, Maine, and the Corcoran School of Art in Washington, D. C. He is recently of the United States Army, where, while on active duty, he encircled the globe, visiting over twenty countries on three continents. His paintings have appeared in several large exhibits and his drawings in *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Nature Magazine* and various other national publications. Prior to his present position as public relations director of a large industrial concern, he was a staff artist and writer successively on the *Washington Post* and *Washington Times-Herald* newspapers.

The project for the publication of this book was begun under the leadership and during the administration of Thomas Hart as president of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution (1943-1946), and has been pursued under his leadership, chiefly, ever since, although ably assisted by the later Board of Managers and President of the Society, and by Captain Aller and other officers of the Color Guard of the Society. Publication was carried through to completion in 1948, during the administration of President Francis Shunk Brown, Jr., and under the Publication Committee appointed by him in 1946, consisting of Branton H. Henderson, Chairman; Thomas Hart, Benjamin Franklin James, 3rd, Joseph Wharton Lippincott, C. Newbold Taylor, Charles P. Blinn, Jr., and Frank Earle Schermerhorn, the author. The cost of the book, in the form first proposed, proved financially prohibitive. But finally, in somewhat changed form, and with the experienced planning and management of Benjamin Franklin James, 3rd, of the Franklin Printing Company, aided by suggestions from Joseph Wharton Lippincott, both of them members of the Publication Committee, completion of publication was achieved in September, 1948.

F. E. S.

PART I

REGIMENTAL AND OTHER AMERICAN FLAGS of the Period of the American Revolutionary War 1775-1783

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The Stars and Stripes

(SEE COLOR PLATE 1)

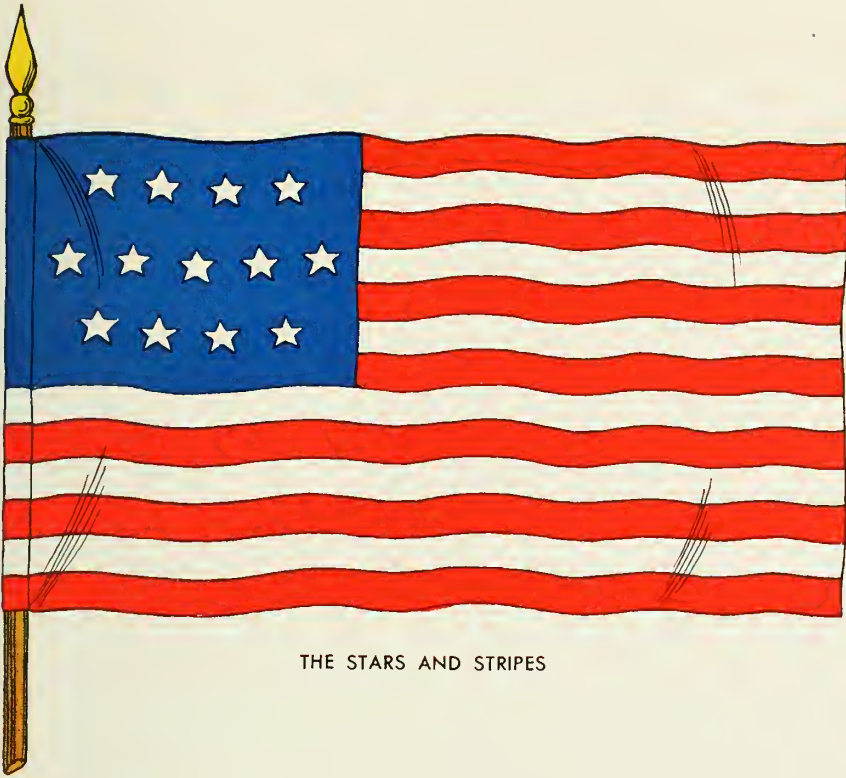
SO MUCH that is deliberately (if not maliciously) iconoclastic has been written about the American Revolution, its heroes and its emblems, that one who loves the old traditions and beliefs feels sad indeed when he finds, from his own researches (and the more profound ones of others), that he must contradict and veil with even greater uncertainty some of these traditions and beliefs.

What could be finer and more colorful than the picture of Betsy Ross designing, or partly designing, the first stars and stripes, in her fascinating house on Arch Street in Philadelphia? This restored "Betsy Ross House" visualizes and symbolizes her home and workshop, even though her actual residence may have been several street numbers removed. Somehow she was associated with the stars and stripes. How or when, we shall probably never know. But, strong, persisting family tradition, must usually, like smoke, have some fire behind it. As Americans all, we would like to believe and be able to prove that Elizabeth Griscom Ross, of Philadelphia, cut, pieced and sewed together the first stars and stripes ever carried. Her first husband, John Ross, who died in January, 1776, of an injury sustained while guarding military stores, was a nephew of Colonel George Ross, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, later a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and therefore a man presumably influential and well informed on public matters. George Ross must have been well acquainted with General Washington, and if Washington, Ross and Robert Morris, in May or June, 1776, did really plan a new flag, with a canton of stars to replace the now objectionable British union of the Continental Flag, what more likely place to discuss the subject than the parlor in back of Betsy Ross' workshop, Mrs. Ross being already known to Washington through having done some seamstress work for him?

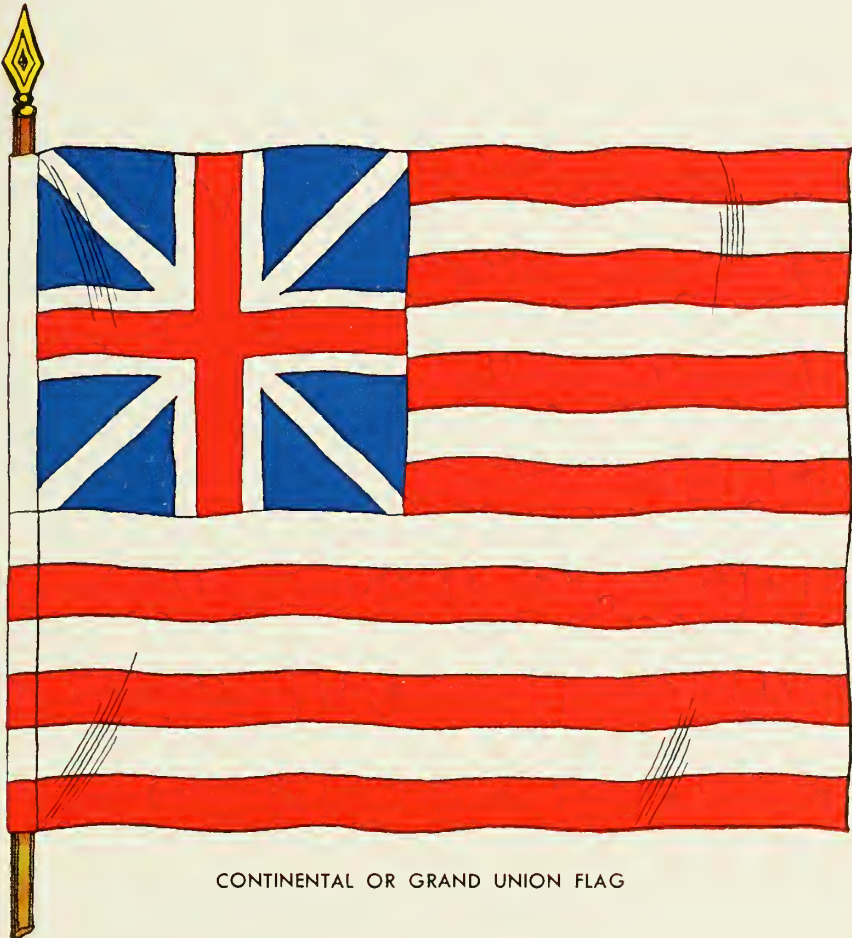
Then, besides the Betsy Ross story, there are those other mental pictures, even more colorful, of these same stars and stripes flying at Cooch's Bridge, Brandywine and Saratoga.¹ But where is the evidence to support any of these interesting mind-pictures? Unfortunately, up to this time, there is *none*. There is argument, surmise, conjecture; but no direct evidence, or even hearsay, much as we would wish it were otherwise. It would seem that at Brandywine and Saratoga there must have been a headquarters flag at least; but what was it like? No one, in any report, letter or diary, has ever told us. Nor are there any army rules, or regulations of Congress, on the subject. We know that in the American Navy the stars and stripes were promptly adopted, at least semi-officially, as the national ensign, toward the close of 1777, if not earlier;² but what of the land forces, their headquarters, the public office buildings, etc.? There is no evidence (not even secondary evidence) to tell us. No funds were appropriated by Congress for flags until very late in the War. Such stars and stripes as were then flown on land (and there must have been and were some) were unofficial.³ In fact, it was not until 1834 that any regiment of the United States Army was officially authorized or ordered to carry the stars and stripes.⁴

"Much more certain than the facts concerning the first use of the Stars and Stripes on land and in battle by the American Army are those of its first appearance on the high seas and in foreign lands or waters as the ensign of the American Navy. This achievement was effected by John Paul Jones."⁵ On the very same day that the Flag Resolution was adopted, Jones was appointed by Congress to command the sloop of war *Ranger*, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The *Ranger* did not sail until November 1, 1777, "and thus it was on that date that the flag first went upon the high seas." Jones secured a salute to the Stars and Stripes from the French fleet in Quiberon Bay, on February 14, 1778. The first British warship to strike her colors to the Stars and Stripes was the *Drake*, after being engaged with the *Ranger* on April 24, 1778. Jones wrote to the

1. The oft-repeated Fort Schuyler story as disproved to a finality by John Spargo, in his "The Stars and Stripes in 1777"; published in 1928; pages 24 et seq. (In "Flag Book Sources," Volume B; see Preface, *supra*.)
2. "The navies of the world have always led in flag matters because international law has made ships that do not bear recognized ensigns liable to charge of piracy." See "Flags of the World," by Gilbert Grosvenor and W. J. Showalter, in *National Geographic Magazine* for September, 1934.
3. See chapters on the Bennington Flag, the Guilford Flag, and the Flag of Third Maryland Regiment, *infra*; and Note 7 to the chapter on the Flag of the French Navy; in Part II; also *infra*.
4. "The National Flag," by Willis Fletcher Johnson; 1930; page 19.
5. Same; page 62.



THE STARS AND STRIPES



CONTINENTAL OR GRAND UNION FLAG

American Commissioner in Paris that on this occasion "the American stars were displayed on board the *Ranger*."⁶

The best analysis of the probable origins of the stars and stripes is contained in the 19-page booklet by the late Howard M. Chapin,⁷ entitled "The Artistic Motives in the United States Flag." What will be said here in the three numbered paragraphs following is a condensation of that able work:

1. The English red ensign of the time of Queen Elizabeth seems to have been the first national (or naval) flag to carry the design or combination of canton and field (a canton in strict heraldry being two-thirds of a quarter of the entire shield). This English red ensign, approximately but not accurately divided thus, was the flag commonly flown by English merchant vessels at the outbreak of the American Revolution and for many years preceding it, and was one of the most widely known flags.⁸

2. The field of 13 red and white horizontal stripes was not a new departure in design at that time, for the British East India Company's flag, as early as 1701, had 13 red and white horizontal stripes, and, besides that, it had a canton in the upper corner near the staff. This flag was well known in America. It was a curious coincidence that it had 13 stripes.⁹

3. On the subject of the stars in the canton, many hundreds of pages have been written by various authors, without reaching any definite conclusion whatever. Chapin points out, nevertheless, that the first of the flags of one of the American colonies, the flag of the First Rhode Island regiment, carried a blue canton containing 13 white five-pointed stars. "These stars were arranged in five rows of 3, 2, 3, 2, 3, stars respectively. It may have been merely a coincidence that this arrangement of the stars follows the lines of the arms of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew." The flag of the United Train of Artillery of Providence, Rhode Island, carried in 1776, also bore 13 five-pointed stars, arranged in a circle, not in a canton but in the field of the flag.¹⁰ But why did Rhode Island happen to choose stars for emblems upon its colonial flags? The answer is simple enough: The seal of the town of Providence, as early as 1680, was a circle of six 8-pointed stars around a seventh star. The motive of this seal is still used by the Providence City

6. Same; page 64.

7. See Note 3 to chapter on Royal Flags of Louis XVI; in Part II; *infra*.

8. "The Artistic Motives in the United States Flag," by Howard M. Chapin; 1930; page 5.

9. Same; page 11.

10. Same; page 15.

Council on its flag.¹¹ We know also that the seal of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, as early as 1676, consisted of seven 8-pointed stars, arranged likewise in a circle of six around the seventh, probably suggested by the ancient arms of Portsmouth, England, which bore a crescent and a star.¹² Providence, Rhode Island, besides being one of the capitals of the state, was one of the chief seats of the Revolutionary patriots of the Colonies. As Mrs. J. G. Walker said in the *Sunday Star*, Washington, D. C., in 1927 (quoted by Chapin): "Without definite proof to the contrary, there seems every reason to believe that some one of Rhode Island's starry flags must have been well known to those who were interested in the organization of the Continental forces and that it contributed to the design of the new constellation adopted June 14, 1777."¹³

This, as to the stars, is, again, obviously, all surmise, theory, conjecture. The truth probably will never be known. There are, of course, three five-pointed stars on the coat-of-arms of the Washington family: mullets, as they are called heraldically; really spur-rowels. In this connection it may be strange to note that this English escutcheon of Washington had stars of five points, following the heraldry of Holland, France and Germany, instead of the heraldry of England, which prescribed six-pointed stars.¹⁴ Perhaps we shall be obliged to go back, for the stars, to the song published in the *Massachusetts Spy* of March 10, 1774, which included the following lines:

"A ray of bright glory now beams from afar
The American Ensign now sparkles a star
Which shall shortly flame wide through the skies."¹⁵

The particular stars and stripes chosen for the illustration at the beginning of this book is the so-called flag of Fort Independence, in Boston Harbor,¹⁶ which is supposed to date from about 1781, and is still preserved in the State House at Boston. The rectangular or linear arrangement of the stars has been given preference here over the circular form because that pattern is the one which finally prevailed and is to be found in the flag of today.

11. Same; page 17.

12. Same; page 18.

13. Same; page 17.

14. "Our Flag," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1872; page 192.

15. "The Birth of Our Flag," 2nd edition, 1923, by Lieutenant-Colonel Louis Barcroft Runk, U.S.A.; page 15. Also, "Our Flag," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1872; page 181.

16. "The Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag," by R. C. Ballard Thrus-ton; 1926; page 13. (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

The original Flag "Resolve" of June 14, 1777, reads as follows: "Resolved, That the Flag of the United States be 13 stripes alternate red and white, that the Union be 13 stars white in a blue field representing a new constellation." Its first appearance in the newspapers, however, was not until September 2, 1777, in *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet*.¹⁷ But the placement of the thirteen stars in the "new constellation" was never defined. After two new states, Vermont and Kentucky, had come into the Union, it was decreed by Congress that on May 1, 1795, and thereafter, "the flag of the United States be fifteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be fifteen stars, white in a blue field."¹⁸ These stars were arranged in five parallel rows of three each (apparently by common agreement), resting on the fifth red stripe. This was the famous Fort McHenry Flag, which inspired our national anthem. On April 4, 1818, other states having been admitted to the Union, Congress returned to the original design of thirteen stripes, with as many white stars in the blue canton as there should be states, as time went on; and this has continued until there are 48 stars, in six regular rows, forming our brave galaxy in these serious latter days.

17. "The Evolution of the American Flag," by George Canby and Lloyd Balderston; 1909; page 68.

18. Same; page 87.

Continental or Grand Union Flag

(SEE COLOR PLATE 1)

THIS was really the first flag of the United States, although in a sense it was unofficial, because the Continental Congress passed no resolution recognizing it. But it was displayed on January 1, 1776, necessarily with General Washington's consent, at Cambridge and at Prospect Hill, near Boston, over the camp of Washington's assembled militia regiments, which he was gradually to make over, with Steuben's help, into the splendid Continental Line.

The so-called "Great Union" or "Grand Union" flag of Britain dates from the accession of James I to the throne in 1603. Every merchant ship was ordered to fly at its *maintop* this new flag, and at its *foretop* either the red cross of St. George or the white cross of St. Andrew.¹ This flag probably flew from the main mast of the *Mayflower*, in 1620.² The new flag united the two crosses.

The white cross of St. Andrew (on a blue field) had been the Scottish flag since the 8th century. Then, about 1275, the English Prince (afterward Edward I) adopted on one of his Crusades the red cross of St. George on a white field, as the flag of England.

These were the two flags which joined together about 1606 to form this new flag. About a century later, in 1707, the two countries, by agreement, united their parliaments, thus becoming Great Britain, and the first article of this agreement required "the union of the crosses to be used in all their flags, banners, standards, and ensigns, both at sea and on land. The designs of the flags or colors made for the army were ornate, whilst those for the navy and merchant marine were simple."³ Each, however, had a red field, but

1. *National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1917; page 378.

2. Same; page 341.

3. "The Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag," by R. C. Ballard Thurston; 1926; page 2. (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

with the Union Flag of 1606 as a canton in the upper part next the staff, in place of its former canton containing only the cross of St. George. This red ensign (which is *not* the royal ensign) was the one which the American colonists knew, and sailed with, and probably fought under through the wars with the French and Indians, during the 18th century (until 1775), at Louisburg, Fort Duquesne, Ticonderoga, Quebec, and elsewhere. When used alone as an ensign as it was in 1606, or as a canton in the red ensign of 1707, the union of the two crosses should not, strictly and correctly speaking, be called a "Union Jack"; it became a jack only when flown as a smaller separate flag from the jack-staff in the bow of a ship of war;⁴ although a merchant ship could fly a red jack with the design of the Union Jack in the canton.

The American flag of January 1, 1776, was simply this British red ensign of 1707 with six white ribbons sewed across its field, making thirteen red and white stripes to denote the thirteen American colonies. The retention of the British Union Jack in the canton indicated that while we were protesting we had not yet decided to sever our relations with the mother country. After "six months of unremitting study and checking of facts," the authors of the "Flags of the World" article in the September, 1934, number of the *National Geographic Magazine* concluded that not until as late as the middle of June, 1776, was "that degree of unanimity in the Continental Congress attained which made the Declaration of Independence . . . possible." In fact this was not until it finally became apparent to all that the British were planning to take New York City that very summer.⁵

The earliest appearance of the Continental or Grand Union Flag seems to have been on the *Alfred*, flagship of the new "Congress Navy," as she lay at anchor in the Delaware River,⁶ on December 3, 1775. We have the written word of John Paul Jones, senior of the first lieutenants of the Congress Navy, that he hoisted the flag himself. John Adams, however, claimed the honor for Captain John Manley; but it is practically certain that Manley was flying the pine-tree flag of the earlier small fleet called the "Washington Cruisers," which had been commissioned by Washington and not by Congress.

4. *National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1917; "Our Flag Number," by Captain Byron McCandless, U.S.N., and Gilbert Grosvenor; page 378.

5. Same; page 345.

6. *National Geographic Magazine*, September, 1934; "Flags of the World," by Gilbert Grosvenor and William J. Showalter; page 340.

Captain John Barry, it would seem, was the first of the Navy officers commissioned by Congress, and sailing under the Continental Flag, to fight a British warship, and make it strike its colors.⁷

Late in 1775, carrying a flag which may possibly have been this Continental or Grand Union Flag, Arnold made his incredible march through the Maine wilderness into Canada, with eleven hundred men: New Englanders except as to Morgan's three rifle companies from Pennsylvania and Virginia.⁸ We do know, however, that this Grand Union Flag was flown in the important battle of Valcour Island, Lake Champlain, in October, 1776.⁹ Also picturesque and adventurous was the exploit of Commodore Esek Hopkins in the Bahama Islands, where, after capturing two enemy schooners, some of the ships of his fleet, on March 17, 1776, entered the British harbor of New Providence, defended by Fort Nassau, and sailed away the same day, taking with them nearly one hundred of the "King's guns, brass mortars and other warlike stores," together with the governor of the Islands and his secretary; all this being told in a London magazine of July, 1776, which also states that "The colours of the American fleet were striped under the union with thirteen strokes, called the thirteen united colonies, and their standard was a rattlesnake, motto, 'Don't tread upon me!'"¹⁰

7. "The National Flag," by Willis Fletcher Johnson; 1930; page 25.

8. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 1, page 192.

9. "Life and Times of Philip Schuyler," by Benson J. Lossing; 1872; volume 2, pages 113-114.

10. "The Evolution of the American Flag," by George Canby and Lloyd Balderston; 1909; page 28. Also "The National Flag," by Willis Fletcher Johnson; 1930, page 24.

Betsy Ross Flag (So-Called)

THE so-called Betsy Ross flag differs only from other early stars and stripes of the regular type in having the thirteen stars grouped in a circle in the canton of the flag. One of the best arguments for this sometime, yet unofficial, use of the stars in a circle on our national color is found in one of the designs for the great seal of the United States, submitted to Congress by William Barton in 1782. Part of this design included what he called "the Standard of the United States," which was a stars and stripes flag with the stars arranged in a circle.¹

Then again, we find that in all of Charles Willson Peale's paintings showing the flag, the stars were displayed in a circle.² Peale was at the head of a company of infantry in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth.³ The artist, John Trumbull, however, who was also an experienced soldier in the Revolution, painted the stars on his flags not in a circle but arranged in rows in a rectangle (with one exception, his *Surrender of Burgoyne*).⁴

Just why this particular design of the stars and stripes has been called for years the Betsy Ross Flag is not known, unless it is because of the publicity given to Charles H. Weisgerber's excellent painting, "Birth of Our Nation's Flag," which shows Betsy Ross displaying to General Washington, George Ross and Robert Morris a stars and stripes flag *with the stars in a circle*. Each subscriber of ten cents or more to the American Flag House and Betsy Ross Memorial Association (incorporated in 1898) received a membership certificate which included a reproduction in colors of this painting. It is

1. "Our Flag," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1872; page 477.

2. "Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution," by Gherardi Davis; Supplement of 1910; pages 13 and 28.

3. "Eminent Americans," by Benson J. Lossing; 1881; page 176.

4. For a reproduction of this painting see page 13 of "Saratoga National Historical Park," a pamphlet published by United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service; 1942 (in "Flag Book Sources," see Preface, *supra*). See also "The Evolution of the American Flag," by George Canby and Lloyd Balderston; 1909; page 70; and "Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution," by Gherardi Davis; Supplement of 1910; page 5.

said that more than a million persons contributed in this way to the fund for purchasing the house.⁵

The flag-picture of a conventional "Betsy Ross Flag," which it was intended should precede this chapter, has been redrawn and is used with the newer chapter following, entitled "General Schuyler's Betsy Ross Flag." In 1943, as is explained in that chapter, a stars and stripes flag, which, according to tradition, was made by Betsy Ross for General Schuyler, in 1777, and which had come down, with the tradition, through the Hamilton and Schuyler families, was deposited in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum by Schuyler Hamilton, a lineal descendant.⁶ Excepting for the use of larger stars in the canton, this flag is the same in pattern and coloring as the one which has been so often associated in books and paintings with Betsy Ross. The seven red and six white stripes are there, the blue canton resting on the fourth white stripe; and the proportionate dimensions of the flag are about the same.

5. "The Evolution of the American Flag," by George Canby and Lloyd Balderston; 1909; page 121.
6. "The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum," July, 1943; page 184. Also letter of Colonel S. H. P. Pell, Director of the Museum, September 27, 1943. (Both in "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, *supra*.)

General Schuyler's Betsy Ross Flag

(SEE COLOR PLATE 2)

THE original of this flag was presented in March, 1943, to the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, by Schuyler Hamilton, a great-great-great-grandson of General Schuyler.¹ It will be remembered that the care and restoration of the ancient Ticonderoga fort was undertaken many years ago by the well-known Pell family of New York City, who acquired the property in 1820.²

In September, 1943, Mr. Hamilton sent the following to Colonel S. H. P. Pell, the present Director of the Museum:³

1. "The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum," July, 1943, page 184.
2. S. H. P. Pell, in his letter of October 14, 1943, filed in "Flag Book Sources" (see Preface, supra), relates briefly the strange, romantic story of his family's connection with Fort Ticonderoga. The Pell family, in the American Revolution, were divided; there were cousins on both sides at the battle of Saratoga. The present Mr. Pell's branch were "loyalists" and emigrated to Canada from New York. But his great-great-grandfather sent the Canadian young people of the family, for their education, down to the Manor of Pelham, in Westchester County, New York, which was the home of the "patriot" branch of the family. S. H. P. Pell's great-grandfather, William Ferris Pell, in these journeys back and forth, visited the ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, and made up his mind to buy them if ever he could afford to. He went into business in New York City. In 1820 he did buy Ticonderoga, which the State had deeded in the late 1790's, with other former Crown properties, to Columbia and Union Colleges, for educational purposes. The Colleges wanted cash, not forts, which enabled Pell to acquire the Ticonderoga property. He built a small house for his summer use, near the Fort, but this having burned down, he built a fairly large residence in 1826, called "The Pavilion," which is S. H. P. Pell's residence now. "It is under the walls of the Fort, on the edge of the King's Garden, laid out in 1756 by the French officers and called 'Jardin du Roi'." William Ferris Pell died intestate, and the property went to his ten children. About thirty years ago the present S. H. P. Pell bought out his brothers and sisters and cousins and "started the restoration, which has progressed slowly since," as he "had to do the job in small bites." "About fifteen years ago," he says, "I transferred the property to the Pell Family Association, the trustees of which are myself, my sons, my cousins and my brothers." See also Colonel Pell's excellent "Fort Ticonderoga, A Short History," published in 1935; and an article, illustrated in color, in *The Saturday Evening Post* of August 16, 1946; copies of both of which are to be found in "Flag Book Sources."
3. See letters of Mr. Pell, dated September 21 and 28, 1943; filed in "Flag Book Sources" (see Preface, supra).

"Memorandum on General Philip Schuyler Flag"

"When word was received by General Schuyler of the adoption of the American Flag, he was serving in Pennsylvania, and immediately ordered a flag made to fly at headquarters. The flag was inherited by his daughter, Mrs. Alexander Hamilton (nee Elizabeth Schuyler). It was given by her to her son, John C. Hamilton, who in turn gave it to his son, Major General Schuyler Hamilton, my grandfather, who in turn gave it to me, Schuyler Hamilton, General Hamilton's grandson, as my father Schuyler Hamilton, Jr., had predeceased my grandfather, Major General Schuyler Hamilton.

"Family tradition has it that it was made by Betsy Ross, maker of the original flag.

"The flag was flown as late as 1898 after Dewey's victory at Manila by my Grandfather Major General Schuyler Hamilton, who shortly after had it sealed in a glass case. I was with Grandfather at the time at Sing Sing now Ossining, New York.

"The canvas and brass grommets were applied by my grandfather to the flag, who also had it reinforced with silk mesh on both sides and cross stitched with silk thread when he had it mounted in the case.

"SCHUYLER HAMILTON."

There is, probably, an error in the first three lines of this "Memorandum," as General Schuyler had left Philadelphia in time to reach Albany on June 8, 1777,⁴ whereas the American flag was not "adopted" until June 14.

Colonel Pell states that when Mr. Hamilton deposited the flag with the Museum, in the original glass case or frame in which it had been sealed some forty-five years previously, there was a brass tablet on it saying that the flag had been made by Betsy Ross.⁵

The resolutions of Congress adopted on March 15, 25 and 31, 1777, had practically relieved General Schuyler of command in the Northern Department. He attended a session of the New York Convention, at Kingston, New York, in March, 1777, where his cause was being strongly supported. The Convention sent him as one of the delegates from New York to the Second Continental Congress, and he set out for Philadelphia on the 30th of March.⁶

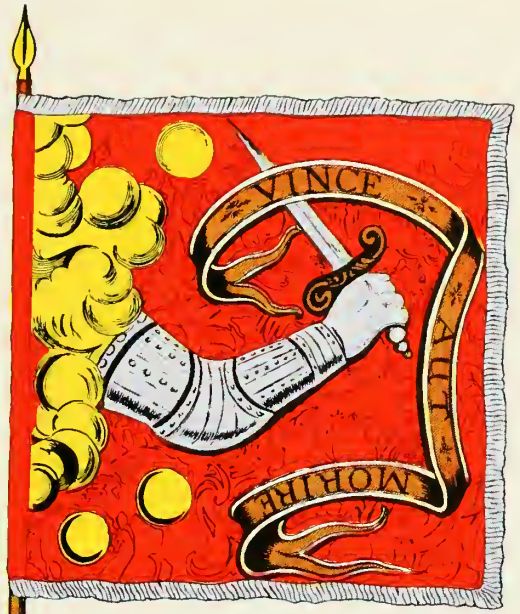
4. "Life of General Philip Schuyler," by Bayard Tuckerman; 1905; page 171. The earlier biography, by Lossing, 1873, gives this date as June 3rd.

5. See letter of Mr. Pell, dated September 27, 1943; also filed in "Flag Book Sources"; (see Preface, supra).

6. "Life and Times of Philip Schuyler," by Benson J. Lossing; 1873; volume 2, pages 167 and 168.



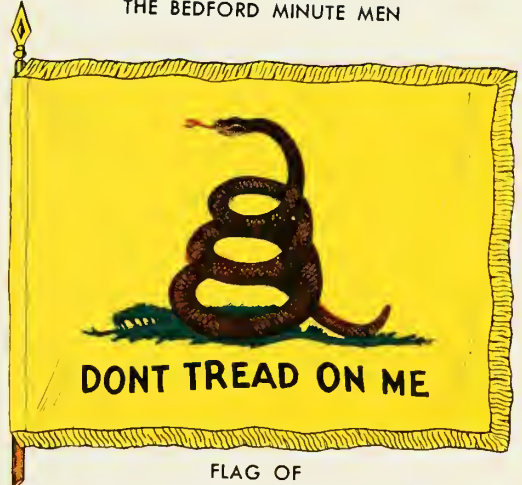
GENERAL SCHUYLER'S BETSY ROSS FLAG



FLAG OF
THE BEDFORD MINUTE MEN



FLAG OF
BUNKER HILL



FLAG OF
THE CONTINENTAL NAVY



PINE TREE FLAG



FLAG OF
THE FLOATING BATTERIES

About April 9, General Schuyler was appointed "commander-in-chief of the military in the State of Pennsylvania." He formed a camp on the western side of the Schuylkill, completed works on one of the Delaware River islands, threw up others at Red Bank, New Jersey, and sent troops and supplies to Washington, who was then in New Jersey.⁷ On May 22, in accordance with the request of the Board of War, Congress resolved "that Albany, Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix, and their dependencies, be henceforth considered as forming the Northern Department"; and "that Major-General Schuyler be directed forthwith to proceed to the Northern Department and take command there."⁸ By June 8 he was in Albany again.

During his two months in Philadelphia, therefore, besides attending to his duties as a member of the Congress, General Schuyler had displayed real military skill and energy. Being thus in the very midst of things, he must have known even the details of what was going on in Congress and in Philadelphia, and could hardly have failed to learn, well in advance, of the forthcoming Flag "Resolve," which was adopted on the 14th of June. As there would be no controversy in Congress over this resolution, and Schuyler having, perhaps, through his intimacy with Washington and others, some knowledge of her supposed previous association with the Stars and Stripes, it is not at all improbable that he gave Betsy Ross, even before he left Philadelphia, a tentative order for one of the new flags. The circumstances make it at least reasonably possible, in accordance with the strong family tradition, that the Fort Ticonderoga Museum flag was ordered of and made by Betsy Ross, in 1777. It seems, however, a very small flag (only two and one-half feet across the top), for use as a "headquarters flag." Even assuming that the finished flag was delivered to the General promptly, it is unfortunate that there should have been so few occasions upon which it could have flown over his headquarters in the Northern Department, for on August 1, 1777, Congress voted him out, and he was finally relieved of command on August 14, in Albany, by General Gates.⁹ But his resignation as Major-General was not accepted by Congress until April 9, 1779.¹⁰

Flag Description: The original flag was made, apparently, of homespun wool, excepting the stars, which are of

7. Same; volume 2; pages 168 and 169.

8. Same; volume 2, page 177.

9. Same; pages 305 to 307.

10. Same; page 332.

GENERAL SCHUYLER'S BETSY ROSS FLAG

white linen; it is about 2½ feet by 2 feet; the stripes are in strips, sewn together; the stars are stitched *in*, star-shaped pieces having been cut out of the blue canton and then sewn on both sides.¹¹

11. Detailed in letters from Colonel Pell, dated October 20 and October 22, 1943; also filed in "Flag Book Sources"; (see Preface, *supra*).

Flag of the Bedford Minute Men

(SEE COLOR PLATE 2)

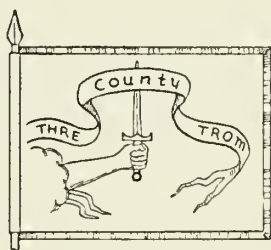
WHETHER based on tradition or on written evidence, or both, the following statement, thrilling indeed to lovers of the old flags, was published on a postcard, in 1930, beneath a beautifully colored picture of this Bedford Flag, by the Bedford Free Public Library Corporation:¹

"This flag was commissioned to Cornet Page in 1737, then a loyal subject of King George II.

"April 19, 1775, it was carried to Concord to the fight at the bridge, by his son, Cornet Nathaniel.

"In 1875 it was carried at the Centennial Celebration at Concord and was presented by Captain Cyrus Page, grandson of Cornet Nathaniel Page, to the town of Bedford, October 19, 1885."

When the New England Confederacy was formed in 1643 by the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven,² three regiments were determined upon for Massachusetts, from the three counties of Middlesex, Suffolk and Essex (joined with Norfolk). Out of this military formation there grew a company of cavalry called the Three County Troop, whose flag is shown by Preble,³ copied from two drawings of it (with a detailed bill of its cost) found in the British Museum. Although both of the drawings



*Standard of the
Three County Troop
1659-1677*

1. "History of Bedford," Massachusetts, by Abram English Brown; 1891; page 23. See also "Our Nation's Flag," by Colonel Nicholas Smith; 1903; page 14.
2. "The Colonial Era," by George Park Fisher; 1892; page 133.
3. "Our Flag," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1872; page 123.

bear the inscription "Thre County Trom," this is evidently an error, for the early records of Massachusetts refer at least nine times between 1659 and 1677 to the "Three County Troop."⁴ The quaintly itemized bill of a herald painter, probably in the time of Charles I, 1625-1649, as to this troop flag, is for "worke done for New England, . . . painting in oyle on both sides . . . a Cornette on rich crimson damask, with a hand and sword and invelloped with a scarfe about the arms of gold, black and silver."⁵ A silver fringe is also mentioned.

The so-called Bedford Flag which has come down to us, is obviously connected with or descended from this Three County Troop standard of 17th century New England. In its origin, therefore, this small flag (about two and one-half feet square) is the oldest of the Revolutionary War regimental or company standards of which there is any definite knowledge. William S. Appleton, in a report to the Massachusetts Historical Society, in January, 1886, quoted Henry Cabot Lodge's "The Story of the Revolution," was of the opinion that this was "one of the accepted standards of the organized Militia of the State, and as such was used by the Bedford Company."⁶

And, if we picture the fight at Concord, we can see, perhaps, this ancient flag marching boldly with the Minute Men, down over the low hill beyond, to face the British regulars, and to drive them back, at the old North Bridge, with shots "heard 'round the world."

4. New England Historical and Genealogical Register; volume 25; April, 1871; page 138.

5. "Our Flag," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1872; page 124. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th edition), a cornet was a small standard, formerly carried by a troop or company of cavalry. In the 16th century and later it meant also the junior officer who carried the cornet.

6. "The Story of the Revolution," by Henry Cabot Lodge; 1898; volume 1, page 45.

Flag of Bunker Hill

(SEE COLOR PLATE 2)

A SO-CALLED New England Flag, *blue*, with a white canton containing the red cross of St. George (a tree in its first quarter), is shown in "Le Neptune Francois," published at Amsterdam, Holland, in 1693. The title of the illustration is in French, meaning "English Pavillon of New England"; a pavillon being a maritime flag.¹ A similar *blue* flag, also purporting to be the New England Flag, appears in two Dutch publications in 1711 and 1718.² Johnson says³ that this flag was authorized in 1737 for use in the United Colonies of New England. McCandless shows it also as a blue flag and calls it the Bunker Hill Flag.⁴

Tree or globe flags, with *red* fields, but still called New England Flags or Ensigns, are pictured in English and other foreign flag plates of about the same period.⁵ Colonel John Trumbull's painting of the Battle of Bunker Hill shows a *red* flag with a white canton bearing merely a green tree and no red cross. Trumbull was adjutant of a Connecticut regiment stationed at Roxbury, only a few miles away, when the battle was fought. But he may be wrong about this flag, just as he is wrong when he pictures General Putnam as present in a splendid blue and scarlet uniform, when Prescott's redoubt is being taken. Putnam was not on Breed's Hill at all after the British infantry assault had been launched, and if he had been there would, according to the best contemporary opinion, have been dressed in his shirt sleeves and an old hat.⁶ While Trumbull may or may not have noted closely the few flags which the Americans carried at Bunker Hill and the Siege of Boston, nevertheless,

1. "The New England Flag," by Howard M. Chapin; 1930; page 8.

2. Same; page 12.

3. "The National Flag," by Willis Fletcher Johnson; 1930; page 9.

4. *National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1917, page 338; article by Lieutenant-Commander Byron McCandless, U. S. Navy, and Gilbert Grosvenor, editor of *National Geographic Magazine*, see also same Magazine, September, 1934, page 370.

5. "The New England Flag," by Howard M. Chapin; 1930; pages 10 and 11.

6. "Battles of the United States, by Sea and Land," by Henry B. Dawson; 1858; page 59, note 2; also pages 71 and 157; and also "Our Nation's Flag," by Colonel Nicholas Smith; 1903; page 14.

as chief of staff under General Gates, at Ticonderoga, in the summer of 1776, he observed very accurately and prophetically a much more important matter. At dinner one day with the General and a number of American officers he stated that Sugar Loaf Mountain, or Mount Defiance, as it was later called, could be climbed and occupied by artillery, thus dominating fatally the fort and lines at Ticonderoga. For this suggestion he was laughed at by most of those present. Arnold and Wayne, however, actually investigated, the next day, and admitted that Trumbull was right. General Gates, as might have been expected, did not pass along this suggestion to General St. Clair, who defended Ticonderoga the next year, June, 1777, and was obliged to leave precipitately because of the occupying of this very hill by the British, although he might readily have fortified it himself, before Burgoyne arrived.⁷ McCandless and Grosvenor state in the *National Geographic Magazine* of October, 1917, that Trumbull "had left the colonies while Washington was before Boston and was abroad for seven years"; but this is incorrect; Colonel Trumbull's military record was continuous from May, 1775, until the spring of 1777; and he became a member of the Society of the Cincinnati.⁸

Lossing tells of a conversation with an old lady whose father had assisted in hoisting a flag over the forward redoubt on Breed's Hill, before the British assault. She had heard him speak of it as a *blue* flag with the red cross, and the pine tree in one corner.⁹

In the absence, therefore, of direct testimony, our conclusion, perhaps, as to the flag of Bunker Hill, should favor the *blue* New England Flag (so-called) shown in the prints of the early 18th century, and supported by the secondary evidence of this very intelligent woman whom Lossing interviewed about 1850, whose father was in the Breed's Hill redoubt. Probably we shall never *know*, but at least we have here an authentic Colonial New England flag, which should not be inappropriate for any color guard of a patriotic society to carry, a flag which, in one form or another, persisted in America even after the adoption officially of the Union flag and jack, to the exclusion of other British flags, about 1707, in the reign of Queen Anne.

7. "Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters of John Trumbull"; 1841; pages 26, 27, 31. See also "Major-General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line," by C. J. Stillé; 1893; page 72.

8. "Eminent Americans," by Benson J. Lossing; 1881; page 196. Also Trumbull's autobiography, cited here in Note 7, *supra*.

9. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1850; volume 1, page 541. See also *National Geographic Magazine*, September, 1934; page 370 (flag No. 250).

Flag of the Continental Navy

(SEE COLOR PLATE 2)

“IN DECEMBER, 1775, the Continental Congress provided for the fitting-out of five ships of thirty-two guns, five of twenty-eight guns, and three of twenty-four guns, making thirteen ships in all, to form a navy of the United Colonies; but no provision was made for a naval flag. John Jay, in a letter dated July, 1776, states that Congress has made no order ‘concerning Continental colors, and that captains of the armed vessels had followed their own fancies.’ He names as one device a rattlesnake rearing its crest and shaking its rattles, and having the motto, ‘Don’t tread on me.’ De Benvouloir, the emissary of Vergennes, in 1775, reports to the French Minister: ‘They have given up the English flag and have taken for their device a rattlesnake with thirteen rattles.’ The rattlesnake was a favorite device with the Colonists, and its origin as an American emblem is a curious feature of our national history.”

(From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; see Preface, *supra*.)

Pine Tree Flag

THE flag pictured on Color Plate 2 is copied, in design and lettering, from the one shown to the right of the portrait of "Commodore Hopkins, Commander in Chief of the American Fleet," in a mezzotint engraving "published as the law directs, 22d August, 1776, by Thomas Hart," and preserved, according to Preble, at the United States Naval Academy.¹

The pine tree flag, like the pine tree shilling, was a New England product. The tree was not always a pine, but might be an oak or a fir, or even a willow.²

The vogue of the tree, which began at least as far back as 1652,³ as a symbol of New England (or more particularly of the colony of Massachusetts Bay), developed a variety of pine tree flags. Willis Fletcher Johnson counts seven of them, of which the one pictured above is a striking and beautiful example,⁴ and the Bunker Hill Flag is another.

Sometimes the tree was in a canton, sometimes it was a large tree in the field of the flag. When small and poorly or carelessly drawn, the tree might become a globe or sphere,⁵ especially to a foreign artist or engraver making pictures of a "New England Flag" in the early 1700's.⁶

We know the gallant part these pine tree flags played for us on the sea, in the earlier fighting years of 1775 and 1776, and although the written evidence is meagre, yet here and there on land, in the ranks of those dauntless Massachusetts regiments, pine tree banners must also have waved. How many there were, along those hills near Boston in 1775, then through the War to Yorktown, we shall never know.

1. "Our Flag, Origin and Progress of the Flag of the United States of America," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U. S. Navy; 1872; page 164.

2. "The New England Flag," by Howard M. Chapin; 1930; page 7.

3. Same; page 7.

4. "The National Flag," by Willis Fletcher Johnson; 1930; page 10.

5. A globe, a sphere, a world, a *star*! What possibilities of reasoning for an iconoclast—with the origin of the stars on the Stars and Stripes so uncertain! No mere going back to the "stars" on the Washington arms, or the stars of 1680 in the seal of the town of Providence, reflected on the blue and white flags of the Rhode Island regiments of 1776! Further back, much further back, to the *stars of the universe*!

6. "The New England Flag," by Howard M. Chapin; 1930; page 12.

Flag of the Floating Batteries

(SEE COLOR PLATE 2)

“**I**N SEPTEMBER, 1775, two strong floating batteries were launched on the Charles River, Massachusetts, and in the following month opened fire on the enemy in Boston. The ensign used was a pine tree flag. Colonel Joseph Reed, in a letter from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Colonels Glover and Moylan, dated October 20, 1775, said, ‘Please to fix some particular color for a flag, and a signal, by which our vessels may know one another. What do you think of a flag with a white ground, a tree in the middle, the motto—“Appeal to Heaven”? This is the flag of our floating batteries.’ The six schooners first commissioned by Washington in the same month to cruise in Massachusetts Bay and the first vessels commissioned soon afterwards by the Continental Congress sailed under the same device—a green pine tree in the centre of a white field—with the motto: ‘Appeal to Heaven,’ and the floating batteries of the State of Pennsylvania in the Delaware River also carried this flag—a green pine tree in the centre of a white field—in the autumn of 1775, and likewise during the operations on that river in the defence of the city of Philadelphia in 1777 and 1778. *The London Chronicle*—an anti-ministerial newspaper—in its issue for January, 1776, states that an American provincial privateer had been captured and that its bunting flag, when in the British Admiralty office, ‘consisted of a white field with a green pine tree in the middle, and upon the opposite side the motto, “Appeal to Heaven”.’”

(From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; see Preface, *supra*.)

Washington's Headquarters Flag

(SEE COLOR PLATE 3)

IF ONLY there could be more certainty about some of the flags of our often desperate War of the Revolution! If we could be sure, for instance, that the flag which we have pictured on Color Plate 3 (a copy of an ancient, well-accredited banner) is *really* the flag which waved from the staff at the modest headquarters-house in Valley Forge, then our imaginations might bring to us, because of it, some quiverings of the thrill "that never was, on sea or land": for these were sublime occasions. We could see Washington, as he is shown in a recent painting,¹ peering out of his office-room window into the deep snow which his brave troops must conquer to survive. At a desk-table in this room sits Tench Tilghman, his able secretary and aide. We can sense their anxiety, and Washington's calm determination. In another mind-picture, perhaps, we could see him leaving the house, mounting his horse, saluting his Guard, lined up in the roadway, and then riding off with an escort to inspect the condition of his dwindling army and the camp defenses; also, perhaps, reviewing the situation with some of his officers in their variously located quarters. Then there would be the picture of Martha Washington, up from Virginia, alighting from her coach, beneath this headquarters flag, to be welcomed profoundly by her General. And so on. We could make a gallery of paintings from the incidents, both colorful and grim, which occurred in that house and around it, during the crisis of Valley Forge. But we cannot quite detail these mind-pictures as we would, for we do not know surely today what flag, if any, adorned a staff beside this simple, yet now glorified, headquarters-home.

In the Museum of the Valley Forge Historical Society at the Washington Memorial Chapel is a flag of faded blue silk, in dimen-

1. By Stanley M. Arthurs, of Wilmington, Delaware.



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS FLAG



FLAG OF
THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S GUARD



BENNINGTON FLAG



CRESCENT FLAG OF SOUTH CAROLINA



FLAG OF
SECOND SOUTH CAROLINA REGIMENT



FLAG OF
FIRST TROOP PHILADELPHIA CITY CAVALRY

sions about 36 by 28 inches, with thirteen six-pointed white stars, the silk back of them having been cut out to show the stars on both sides.² Dr. Burk, in his "Valley Forge Guide Book," states that this flag has the original homespun linen heading. He says that the stars "follow the lines of the crosses of the King's colors, the flag carried by every British regiment."³ He further states that Miss Frances Lovell gave the flag to the Museum, and that she was a descendant of Betty Washington Lewis, of Fredericksburg, Virginia, the only sister of George Washington. Dr. Burk gives the full line of descent of Miss Lovell, who said that the flag was known in the family as "Washington's Headquarters Flag."

This flag is shown in the article on flags in the September, 1934, *National Geographic Magazine*, with the statement: "At Valley Forge, General Washington used this flag before his tent."

Gilbert S. Jones, executive secretary of the Valley Forge Park Commission says (1943): "A replica of this Commander-in-Chief's flag flies daily from a staff at Washington's Headquarters in the park, in addition to the standard American flag."⁴

Harry Emerson Wildes, however, in his "Valley Forge," published in 1938, writes as follows (page 308): "Historians of the Valley Forge Park Commission, while admitting that the banner is undoubtedly an authenticated record of the encampment, hold that the flag was more probably a regimental standard. Their own researches, based largely upon a Charles Willson Peale painting,⁵ indicate that Washington's personal flag had its stars arranged in circular form."

2. These are the dimensions given by Reverend W. Herbert Burk in a copyrighted article in the July 15, 1910, issue of "The Washington Chapel Chronicle." This article had been forgotten, but was brought to light again by Mr. Jones of the Valley Forge Park Commission. (Copy filed in "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, *supra*.)
3. We find this arrangement of the stars in the canton of the flag, dating back to 1776 or earlier, of the First Rhode Island Regiment, *infra*, and in numerous paintings by Trumbull, made, however, after 1784. John Trumbull was an officer in the patriot army from June, 1775, until February, 1777, first as adjutant of a Connecticut regiment, then on Washington's staff, and later on the staff of General Gates. He must have seen many regimental and other flags of the new Army.
4. Mr. Jones, who is also Secretary-Treasurer of the Valley Forge Historical Society, is the author of "Valley Forge Park"; 1943. (This remarkable booklet is not only extremely well written, but is exceptionally well printed and illustrated.) Mr. Jones has given valuable assistance in the preparation of this chapter on "Washington's Headquarters Flag." See "Flag Book Sources," referred to in Preface, *supra*.
5. This is Peale's portrait of Washington at the Battle of Trenton, painted in 1779, which does not show a stars and stripes flag, but a plain blue flag with thirteen six-pointed white stars arranged *in a circle*. (Peale himself fought in the battle of Trenton.) The views of the late Horace Wells Sellers, R. A., as set forth in his report to the Valley Forge Commission as Chairman of the Committee on the

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS FLAG

An interesting sidelight is this: At the siege of Charleston, South Carolina, according to a surgeon in the British service, the flag first displayed by the Americans was a blue flag with thirteen stars; but on April 3, 1780, he says, there appeared on their great battery fronting the harbor "the American flag of thirteen stripes."⁶

Preservation of Historic Monuments (of the Philadelphia Chapter, American Institute of Architects), are cited fully in *The Picket Post*, published in January, 1944, by Valley Forge Historical Society (copy filed in "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, supra). Mr. Sellers reached the conjectural conclusion that the blue flag with thirteen stars in a circle, which the female figure on the flag of the Commander-in-Chief's Guard is presenting to a mounted officer of the Guard, is the true Washington's Headquarters Flag. It must be borne in mind, however, that this flag of Washington's Guard, in all probability, because of its heraldic blazons of the eagle, and the 13-striped shield, could not have been designed or painted until some three or four years after the Valley Forge encampment. See chapter on the Flag of the Commander-in-Chief's Guard; infra; also, "Our Flag," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1872; page 197, quoting from a letter written by Peale's son; and "Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution," by Gherardi Davis; 1910 Supplement, pages 13 and 28.

6. Dr. John Jeffries, quoted in "The Evolution of the American Flag," by George Canby and Lloyd Balderston; 1909; page 77. Also "History of the Flag"; by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1880; page 284.

Flag of the Commander-in-Chief's Guard

(SEE COLOR PLATE 3)

“THIS flag, frequently designated as that of ‘Washington’s Life Guard’ (which term was resolved by Congress on April 15, 1777, to be a misnomer), originally consisted of white silk on which the following device was painted: One of the Guard was represented holding a caparisoned horse and in the act of receiving a banner or pennon from the Genius of Liberty, who was personified as a woman leaning upon the Union shield, near which is the American eagle. The figures stood upon a green ground and overhead on a ribbon was the motto of the corps, ‘Conquer or Die.’ The figure of the guard was in the uniform adopted for the corps, a blue coat with white facings, white waistcoat and breeches, black half-gaiters, a cocked hat with a blue and white feather, and sword and cross belt. The female figure was robed in light blue.

“The original flag was owned by Mr. George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of General Washington, and was deposited by Mr. Custis in the Museum of Alexandria, Virginia, with many other valuable relics, including British flags captured at Trenton and at Yorktown, and one that belonged to Morgan’s Rifle Corps.

“The Guard of the Commander-in-Chief was a distinct corps of superior men attached to his person, but never for this reason specially spared in battle. It was organized in 1776, soon after the siege of Boston and while the American army was encamped on Manhattan Island, near New York City. It consisted of a battalion of one hundred and eighty men under the command of an officer with the rank of Captain Commandant; care being always taken to have all the States, from which the Continental army was supplied with troops, represented in the corps.

"During the winter of 1779-80, however, when the American army under Washington was cantoned at Morristown, New Jersey, in close proximity to the enemy, the Guard was increased to two hundred and fifty men. It was reduced to its original number in the following spring, and early in 1783, the last year of its service, was again reduced to only sixty-four non-commissioned officers and privates, and under its new and final reorganization (on June 16, 1783), it consisted of but thirty-eight rank and file, twelve of whom were mounted. The Guard was armed with muskets and occasionally carried side arms.

"The organization was finally disbanded and mustered out of service on Constitution Island, opposite West Point, New York, December 23, 1783."

(From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; see Preface, *supra*.)

This flag, illustrated by Lossing,¹ now restored and on exhibition in the museum of Alexandria Lodge, No. 22, A. F. & A. M., at Alexandria, Virginia, is undoubtedly the flag of Washington's Guard, and yet it must have originated quite late in the War. The figure of the woman holding a flag in her right hand, her left hand touching a shield,² appeared in 1776 in a design for the proposed seal of the United States of America.³ But even (in America) before 1776 we find a woman with a staff in her hand and a streamer or motto *Britannia*, on the "Louisburg Camp Colour," borne, it is said, in 1745, in Colonel William Pepperrell's land attack, supported by a part of the British navy, against the strong French fortress of Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, near Nova Scotia.⁴

It is most unlikely, nevertheless, that a flag with the American *eagle on it* could have been painted before 1782. While the eagle was common enough in ancient heraldry it does not seem to have

1. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 1, page 688.
2. The outer stripes of this shield are incorrectly painted, however; they should be white, not red, in accordance with strict heraldry. See the stripes in the United States shield, on the reverse side of any current One Dollar bill (silver certificate). The stripes on our Stars and Stripes are, of course, not in accordance with the old heraldry, but nothing can be done about that.
3. "Our Flag," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1872; page 475.
4. Pepperrell was a merchant, living in Kittery, Maine. His army of about 3300 were militia from Massachusetts (Maine), Connecticut and New Hampshire. He was knighted after this successful enterprise, which has been described as "the only instance recorded in history of the victory of a body of irregulars, led by a civilian, over well-trained and gallant foes." See "Annual Register of the Society of Colonial Wars," January, 1896; Appendix, pages xi to xx; with an engraving, opposite page iv, of the "Camp Colour" (still preserved by the New York Historical Society).

been used in American heraldic or similar designs until William Barton of Philadelphia presented two proposed "devices," on June 13, 1782, to the committee of Congress appointed to prepare a design for the "Great Seal of the United States." This Committee as originally constituted on July 4, 1776, consisted of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, but its personnel had completely changed before it concluded its task on June 20, 1782.⁵

In the American army of the Revolution each general officer had his own separate corps of guards. Honors were paid by "parading the corps and presenting arms, the officers saluting and drums beating; except in camp before the enemy, when the drums were not to be beat."⁶ Chapter six of the manual prepared by General Steuben, approved in general orders, May 16, 1778, in defining the honors due from these guards, provides clearly, "the Guard of the Commander-in-Chief to pay no honor except to him."⁷

5. "Our Flag," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1872; page 479. Also "The Seal of the United States," by Gaillard Hunt; page 16; published by the Department of State, Washington, D. C., in 1892.

6. "The Commander-in-Chief's Guard, Revolutionary War," by C. E. Godfrey; 1904; page 58; citing Washington's Orderly Book.

7. Same; page 58.

Flag of First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry

(SEE COLOR PLATE 3)

“THIS flag is of yellow silk, with silver fringe, and bears in its corner a canton of thirteen alternate blue and silver stripes. This canton is the earliest known instance of the thirteen stripes being used upon an American banner. In the centre of the flag is a blue shield bearing a golden knot from which radiate thirteen golden scrolls like the ends of as many stripes of ribbon; this is a very early symbol of the idea expressed by the motto: ‘E pluribus unum.’ The head of a bay horse bearing a white star on his forehead appears as a crest, while as supporters we find ‘a Continental masquerading as an Indian,’ holding a golden staff surmounted by a liberty cap, and an angel with a staff in one hand and a golden trumpet in the other. These figures symbolize LIBERTY and FAME. Beneath, on a ribbon, is the motto, obviously referring to the supporters: ‘For these we strive,’ and over the crest appear the cipher letters ‘L.H.’. The original of this flag was presented to the Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse, now known as the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry, by Captain Abraham Markoe in 1775, and was carried by the Troop at Trenton, Princeton, the Brandywine and Germantown. Captain Markoe resigned his commission late in 1775, an edict of Christian VIII, King of Denmark, having forbidden his subjects to engage in war against Great Britain under penalty of the confiscation of their property. The flag is beautifully made and richly mounted, and is now carefully preserved by the First City Troop in its armory in Philadelphia, it having been placed between sheets of glass and fitted into a specially constructed frame. A short while ago the original bills for designing and painting the flag were discovered by a descend-

ant of Captain Markoe, and they are now to be found safely kept in the case that protects the flag from fire and decay."

(From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; see Preface, *supra*.)

There were other cavalry units in Philadelphia from 1775 to 1781 and later, probably "Associator" organizations, but apparently they were not engaged in the actual battle-fighting, as was the First Troop. One of these other companies has been definitely identified as the "Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," including among its various commanders a Bingham, a Cadwalader, a Rawle, a John Morin Scott, and a John Price Wetherill.¹ It lasted through until about 1865, serving both in the War of 1812 and in the War of the Rebellion. But it seems to have lapsed then until 1895, when it was revived by certain of the descendants of the early troopers, and served capably in the National Guard of Pennsylvania, and in the World War I effort (with casualties), until about 1940, at which time, in a newer military order of things, it disappeared again as a separate organization.

1. "The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," by W. A. Newman Dorland, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S., Lieutenant-Colonel, Medical Corps, United States Army, retired; the manuscript of this work was published, in part, by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in its *Pennsylvania Magazine*, and the remainder (unpublished) has been deposited with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Crescent Flag of South Carolina

(SEE COLOR PLATE 3)

“THE Crescent Flag used in the historic defence of Fort Sullivan (now Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan’s Island, in Charleston Harbor) against the British in June, 1776, by Colonel William Moultrie, was the first American flag used in the South in the Revolution. It consisted of a dark-blue field with a white crescent in the upper right-hand (dexter) corner. Colonel, afterwards General Moultrie, states in his Memoirs that ‘as there was no national flag at the time, I was desired by the Council of Safety (on September 13, 1775, on taking possession of Fort Johnson, on James Island, in the harbor) to have one made; upon which, as the State troops were clothed in blue and the fort was garrisoned by the men of the first and second regiments who wore a silver crescent on the front of their caps, I had a large blue flag made with a crescent in the dexter corner to be uniform with the troops. This was the first American flag displayed in the South.’ It was this flag that the gallant Sergeant William Jasper, of South Carolina, fastened up on a sponge-staff and replaced upon the bastion in the midst of a furious fire, after it had been shot away by the enemy’s fleet and had fallen outside the parapet upon the beach. For his heroic act Governor Rutledge, the following day, presented him with his own sword, and thanking him in the name of his country, tendered him an officer’s commission which Jasper modestly declined.”

(From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; see Preface, *supra*.)

The restoring of this flag to the bastion of the fort was of more than sentimental importance. The people of Charleston, who were tensely watching the battle from their housetops a number of miles across the harbor, were considerably divided between loyalty to the king and the independence of the patriot forces. Much might

happen in the town if its defenses surrendered, and therefore the crescent flag must still wave as long as it dared.

In connection with the victory at Fort Moultrie it must not be forgotten that during the day of the attack, Colonel William Thompson and his South Carolina Rangers at the northeastern end of the Island turned back a British landing force of over 2,000 men who expected, with the aid of a number of armed ships and boats, to cross over from the adjoining Long Island at a narrow ford (which, however, was then much deeper than usual because of strong east winds and tides). Colonel Thompson had erected a small two-gun battery near this point, but it was the wonderful rifle-shooting of his Rangers which really decided the issue, and saved the partly completed Fort from being fatally attacked from the rear and on its left flank. (See "History of South Carolina in the Revolution," by Edward McCrady; 1902; pages 152-153.)

Flag of Second South Carolina Regiment Continental Line

(SEE COLOR PLATE 3)

THIS was one of the two flags which commemorated the remarkable defense of Fort Moultrie in 1776, and which were then carried on to even greater bravery and tragedy in the assault on the British Spring Hill redoubt at Savannah, Georgia, in 1779.

In 1775, soon after the battles of Lexington and Concord had been fought, the Provincial Congress of South Carolina gathered together, partly from the British government storehouses (some of which were deliberately broken into) and partly from private sources, about 1500 pounds of gunpowder and 1200 stand of arms (plus a few pieces of artillery). At the same time it resolved to organize two regiments of foot and one of rangers (500 men to each regiment). William Moultrie was chosen colonel of the Second Regiment of foot, and William Thompson colonel of the rangers-regiment. Francis Marion, afterwards noted as the "Swamp Fox," became a major and later lieutenant-colonel of Moultrie's regiment.¹

With his Second South Carolina Regiment, Colonel Moultrie was ordered on March 2, 1776, to Sullivan's Island, in Charleston Harbor, to take command of a "large fort sufficient to contain 1000 men" which was being built by a "great number of mechanics and negro laborers."² This fort would be "the key to the Harbor," when the expected British naval expedition from New York appeared, as it did on June 28, 1776, in ten vessels, with over 250 guns, and bringing a landing force of nearly 3000.

1. "Memoirs of the American Revolution," by William Moultrie; 1802; volume 1, pages 58, 64, 65.

2. Same; page 124.

The fort was built of rows of green palmetto logs with sixteen-foot merlons or mounds of earth in between. It was found that the cannonballs from the ships could not get through these logs but became ineffectually buried in the soft wood.³

The attack on the fort began between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning. "A most tremendous cannonade ensued . . . Colonel Moultrie, with 344 regulars and a few volunteer militia, made a defence that would have done honor to experienced veterans."⁴ The fire was continuous until seven in the evening. By 9:30 P. M. the firing on both sides had ceased. The British did not return to the attack, but sailed for New York, on June 30, with a greatly damaged fleet and the loss of 205 in killed and wounded; the American loss being only thirty-seven.⁵

The Second South Carolina Regiment had the post of honor in the defense of the fort, and on the day the British sailed away the wife of Major Bernard Elliott presented to the regiment, in which her husband had been a captain, "an elegant pair of colors, . . . one of a fine blue silk, the other a fine red silk, richly embroidered." She presented the colors in person, saying: "Gentlemen—Soldiers! Your gallant behavior in defence of your country entitles you to the highest honors! Accept these two standards as a reward justly due to your regiment; and I make not the least doubt but that under heaven's protection you will stand by them as long as they wave in the air of liberty."⁶ "Her anticipations were fully justified," for on October 9, 1779, at the siege of Savannah, the colors she had presented were both planted inside the British lines, by men of this regiment, which was then commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Marion.⁷ As to what actually took place, in the attack, we have the following, written by a former captain in The King's Royal Rifle Corps, with reference to the Second South Carolina Regiment: "At the assault on Spring Hill redoubt, Lieutenant Bush being wounded handed the blue colour to Sergeant Jasper. Jasper, who had already received a bullet, was then mortally wounded, but returned the colour to Bush, who the next minute fell, yet even in the moment of death attempted to protect the flag

3. "History of South Carolina," by David Ramsay; 1858; page 156.

4. Same; page 154.

5. "Memoirs of the American Revolution," by William Moultrie; 1802; volume 1, page 178.

6. Same; volume 1, page 182. Also, "History of South Carolina in the Revolution," by Edward McCrady; 1902; page 415. The motto on the flag, "*Vita potior libertas*," means *Liberty rather than life*.

7. "History of South Carolina in the Revolution," by Edward McCrady; 1902; page 415.

which was afterwards found beneath him. No one could have done more; and the colour, hallowed by the blood of Bush and Jasper, deserves to be deposited under a consecrated roof. . . . After the action it was picked up under Bush's body by the Royal Americans and handed to their Colonel-Commandant, General Prevost,"⁸ in the possession of whose grandson it remained as late as 1913. Lieutenant Gray, who had the other color, was likewise mortally wounded, but Sergeant McDonald planted it on the redoubt, and succeeded in carrying it off in safety when the retreat was ordered; but eventually it was captured with the regiment, when General Lincoln surrendered at Charleston in May, 1780,⁹ and presumably was also taken to England.

8. "The Annals of The King's Royal Rifle Corps," by Lewis Butler; published in London in 1913; volume 1, pages 214-216. Oscar T. Barck, historian of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York, has a copy of this book, in which, facing page 216, the blue flag of the Second South Carolina Regiment is pictured in colors. There is also a copy in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
9. "History of South Carolina," by David Ramsay; 1858; page 156 (footnote).

Bennington Flag

(SEE COLOR PLATE 3)

NATHANIEL Fillmore, of Bennington, Vermont, was the grandfather of Millard Fillmore, thirteenth president of the United States. In 1777, this same Nathaniel Fillmore, then thirty-seven years of age, First Lieutenant of Captain Elijah Dewey's Bennington company, was one of the most valuable and active of the local militia officers and a devoted patriot, having even served against the French in Canada near the close of the French and Indian War, and in June and July, 1777, against the British, on Lake Champlain, until the retreat of St. Clair. On August 16, 1777, he fought with distinction, it is said, in the battle of Bennington.

It was this man who presented to his nephew, Colonel Septa Fillmore, at the outbreak of the War of 1812, a flag which he had faithfully preserved for thirty-five years. He told his nephew (who was then in command of an army detachment at Plattsburg) that this flag had been used by the patriots in the battle of Bennington.

As John Spargo claims in his thoroughly logical and well-balanced work on "The Stars and Stripes in 1777," page 47,¹ this was almost certainly:

- "1. The oldest known Stars and Stripes flag;
- "2. The actual flag of the army led by General John Stark in the battle of Bennington;
- "3. The first Stars and Stripes flag known to have been used by any of the land forces of the United States;
- "4. The first Stars and Stripes flag to be raised in a victory over the enemy in the War of Independence."

1. "The Stars and Stripes in 1777, An Account of the Birth of the Flag and its First Baptism of Victorious Fire," by John Spargo, who for twenty years has been President of the Bennington Battle Monument and Historical Association. He was Chairman of the United States-Vermont Sesqui-Centennial Commission, and President of the Vermont Historical Society. The book was published in 1928. Later he was Director-Curator of the Bennington Historical Museum and Art Gallery which he founded and built up. He is also Registrar of the Diocese of Vermont, and Grand Historian of the Grand Lodge of Vermont. This is the same John Spargo who was born in 1876 in Cornwall, England, and after beginning a distinguished career in England in the Socialist cause and in open opposi-

By many writers on the subject it has been assumed that the first appearance of the stars and stripes in battle was at Cooch's Bridge, in Delaware, on September 3, 1777. Others mention the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777. Still others write with confidence of a stars and stripes flag, on August 3, 1777, at the courageous defense of Fort Schuyler (near the present Rome, New York), when the little garrison of Gansevoort and Willett was holding out against St. Leger's uncounted horde of British, Tories and Indians. But a careful study of the evidence shows conclusively² that it was a Continental or Grand Union Flag which rose in defiance, one morning, over Fort Schuyler. All of these priority statements leave out of consideration the undoubted participation of a form of the stars and stripes in the battle of Bennington on August 16, 1777.

While there is no written evidence, no diary or letter even, to show that any flag whatever was carried on the American side, in this battle, nevertheless the parents of many citizens of Bennington who were alive at the time of the centennial in 1877 had heard from the lips of actual participants that the stars and stripes was raised by Stark's force, and then after the battle was borne in triumph through the village street. As Spargo expresses it, these men and women could only say "Our fathers told us," and the world was left free to believe or to doubt.³ The tradition was accepted by "historical writers of repute" of the period of 1877 and earlier (Street, Herrick, Forbes, and others).⁴

Then, further, there is the existence of the flag itself to be accounted for, handed down as it was by a soldier of high character and of long, arduous service, a flag which belongs to the period because of the manner of its fabrication and the materials used, and which by its design reflects clearly the uncertainties prevailing then as well as many years later regarding the meaning of the flag resolution of June 14, 1777.

The Bennington Flag, now owned by the Bennington Battle Monument and Historical Association, is "a carefully and skillfully wrought example of needlework . . . designed with care and taste

tion to the Boer War, came to America in 1901, where he has written many well-known books and pamphlets, chiefly on humanitarian and socialistic subjects. During the first World War he went abroad by appointment of President Wilson on several important war missions. He has been well known also as a lecturer on various phases of Socialism. More lately he has written several valuable works on American history. For many years he has made his home, with his wife and his children, at "Nestledown," in Old Bennington, Vermont.

2. Same; pages 17-30.

3. Same; page 37.

4. Same; page 31.

... made of homespun linen ... probably woven in the village from flax grown in the vicinity."⁵ It is ten feet long and five and one-half feet wide, too large to have been carried in a close-fought battle, yet suitable for use as a camp flag, or to be borne in front of the army, on the march.

Unfortunately, the minutes of the Vermont Council of Safety for the period of 1776-1777 were lost, seemingly as early as 1778. Perhaps they contained some reference to the stars and stripes, or other flags. Vermont having declared itself an independent republic in January, was seeking recognition from Congress all through the year 1777. Its leaders were, therefore, in close touch with all that took place in Congress, and would naturally have been among the first to hear of the Flag Resolution of June 14. It is to be remembered also that Bennington was a very important army supply post, and in daily communication with Albany.⁶ The women of Bennington doubtless, therefore, had ample opportunity, before August 16, to fashion a new American flag for the troops which were assembling, inevitably, for the expected battle.

And, after Bennington, it is hardly to be doubted that the flag was taken victoriously to Saratoga by Dewey and Warner, and paraded again in the victory there.⁷ No matter how the argument as to the Stars and Stripes at Gates' headquarters, after the battle, may be finally decided, at least we know that the new flag of the United States was present somewhere along our lines, though in strange form, perhaps, when Burgoyne surrendered his army in October of 1777.

As to this Bennington Flag, John Spargo concludes,⁸ after studying "the history of all the historic early flags of the United States ... that there is not one of them with a clearer record, better deserving of credence, and few indeed with a record of equal historic merit."

5. Same; page 43. The conventional picture of this flag has been changed slightly in our drawing of it, the stars being made smaller, and the figures "76" being somewhat modified to show their quaint outlines on the original flag. (See photograph of the flag as it is today: in "Flag Book Sources" referred to in Preface, supra.)
6. Thacher's so-called "Military Journal," published in 1823, and probably not compiled until about that time, states that the Flag Resolution was first mentioned in "the papers" August 3, 1777, although there is no proof today of its publication before August 30, 1777, in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*. See "The Battle of Cooch's Bridge," by Edward W. Cooch; 1940; page 71. (It is quite evident that the author of this very interesting recent work had not read John Spargo's completed book on "The Stars and Stripes in 1777," published in 1928.)
7. "The Stars and Stripes in 1777," by John Spargo; see note 1, above; page 53. (A copy of this book is in "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, supra).
8. Same; page 38.

Flag of the Green Mountain Boys

(SEE COLOR PLATE 4)

THIS was the flag, *perhaps*, of the Green Mountain Boys, whose leaders, John Stark, Ethan Allen, and Seth Warner, were great names in the history of our Revolution. Stark cherished this flag, while he lived, as one of his most important possessions, always saying that it had been in the thickest of the fight at Bennington. On his death he passed it down to his posterity along with his old war-pistols and Molly Stark's wedding dress.

Evidently this plain green flag with a starry canton was one of John Stark's two battle-flags at Bennington, August 16, 1777, when Colonel Seth Warner was his aide and chief adviser, with Warner's Green Mountain regiment coming forward in all its bravery at the close of the battle to clinch the victory, after the Hessian relief column appeared and Stark's other troops had become partly disorganized by their own success.¹

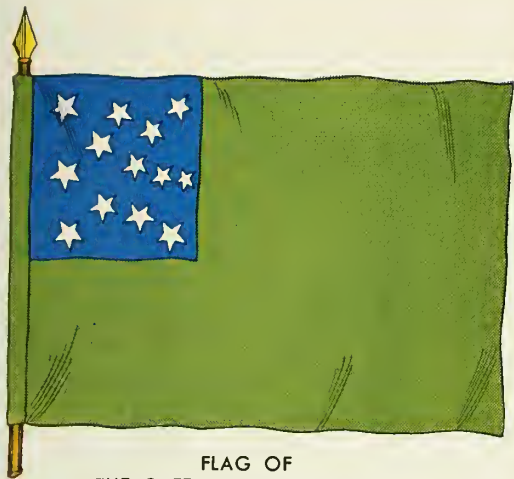
These Green Mountain Boys or Rangers, from the staunch hills of Vermont and New Hampshire, appeared as a group of volunteers, under Stark, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in June, 1775, to fight desperately in the battle of Bunker Hill.² A month earlier, led by Allen and Warner, they had taken Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Participating in the ill-fated invasion of Canada with Montgomery and Arnold, and in the long retreat which followed well into 1777,³ they returned, few indeed in number, to be recruited again, still under one of their indomitable leaders, to rout the Hessians of Burgoyne at Bennington.⁴

1. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 1, page 397.

2. Same; volume 1, pages 534, 547.

3. Same; volume 1, page 153.

4. Same; volume 1, pages 391 to 398.



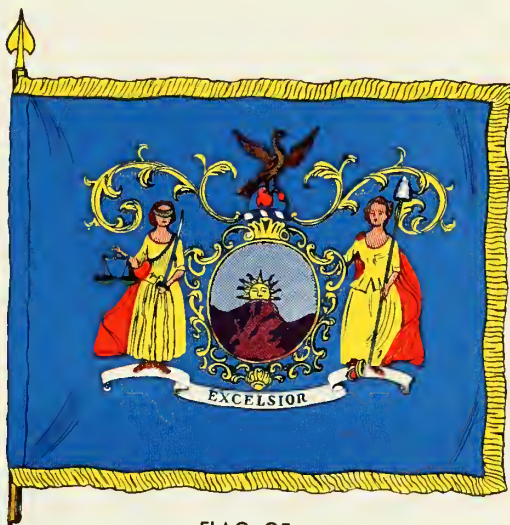
FLAG OF
THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS



FLAG OF
FIRST PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT



FLAG OF
ELEVENTH VIRGINIA REGIMENT
(MORGAN'S RIFLE CORPS)



FLAG OF
THIRD NEW YORK REGIMENT



FLAG OF
SECOND RHODE ISLAND REGIMENT



FLAG OF
FIRST RHODE ISLAND REGIMENT

If this flag was their flag in 1777, and the reasons for believing so are strong, then there is no braver flag to be borne by the color guard of any society commemorating the deeds of the men of our Revolution.

The facts, traditions and arguments relating to this flag, its authenticity, and probable connection with the Green Mountain Boys, are set forth in the important historical work entitled "The Stars and Stripes in 1777," by John Spargo; pages 34 to 37.⁵

While this flag was certainly a Green Mountain Boys flag, it must be said, however, that it need not necessarily have been identified with Seth Warner's regiment (which did not, very fortunately, enter at all into the first phase of the battle of Bennington). It may, for example, have belonged to Colonel Samuel Herrick's militia organization of "Rangers," also from the Green Mountains, increased before the battle by volunteers from various localities, which was in the thick of the assault on the western side of Baum's position. The uniform of these Rangers was green, as several authorities indicate. Colonel Herrick was of the Ethan Allen and Warner group, having distinguished himself, as a captain, in the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, early in 1775.⁶ Then, again, this may possibly have been the home-made flag of a small regiment of local militia commanded by Colonel Brush.⁷

Of the original flag only the canton remains today, with a narrow edge of sage green silk on its right-hand side, together with some small pieces of the green field. This canton is of light blue silk, 17 by 19 inches, with thirteen 5-pointed stars, painted in white, scattered irregularly over it. In our picture of the flag it has been assumed or imagined that the entire flag was about 48 inches in length by 36 inches in width along the staff, the green silk field extending both to the right of and below the canton. It is practically certain, however, that there really was a green silk field or float below the canton (this being clearly indicated by recent careful examination of the flag fragment which has come down to us and is now owned

5. "The Stars and Stripes in 1777, An Account of the Birth of the Flag and its First Baptism of Victorious Fire," by John Spargo, published in 1928. See Note 1 on Page 2, in Bennington Flag chapter (supra), as to this remarkable contribution to American flag-history, and its distinguished author. (A copy is in "Flag Book Sources," Volume B; see Preface, supra).

6. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 1, pages 123, 137.

7. In writing this chapter, very valuable assistance was cordially given by Howard P. Moore, of New York City, and Lakeport, New Hampshire. Mr. Moore is undoubtedly an authority on even the minor interesting details of the "Life of General John Stark of New Hampshire," which is the title of the new biography he is preparing for publication.

FLAG OF THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS

by the Bennington Historical Museum and Art Gallery). If there were no such indication we might be obliged to imagine a flag measuring perhaps three feet to three and one-half feet by 19 or 20 inches, with all of its field to the right of the canton, and none below, which would have presented a very odd appearance among the other American regimental flags of that period. Therefore the type or shape of flag common at the time has been assumed, and is illustrated on our Color Plate 4.⁸

8. In a letter dated August 12, 1942, Mr. Spargo says, "You are correct in assuming a flag of the normal type." (In "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, *supra*.)

Flag of First Pennsylvania Regiment Continental Line

(SEE COLOR PLATE 4)

“THIS standard had a deep green field with a crimson square in the centre, bearing on the square, as a device, a hunter in the attitude of striking a lion enclosed in a net, with a spear. The motto below is ‘Domari Nolo’ (I refuse to be subjugated). The flag, described in a letter by Lieutenant-Colonel Hand to James Yeates, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, dated Prospect Hill, March 8, 1776, was carried by the regiment through the Revolution in all its skirmishes and battles, from Boston, in 1775, to Yorktown, in 1781. It was with this regiment with Wayne in Georgia in 1782, and in camp of James Island, South Carolina, in 1783, when the news of peace reached there, and whence the regiment embarked for Philadelphia soon afterward. The original flag is now in the State Library at Harrisburg.”

(From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; see Preface, *supra*.)

What was called the “Continental Army” was organized in June, 1775. In a general order issued July 4, 1775, the day after Washington took command of the army at Cambridge, Massachusetts, he said: “The Continental Congress having now taken all the troops of the several colonies, which have been raised, or which may be hereafter raised for the support and defense of the liberties of America, into their pay and service, they are now the troops of the UNITED PROVINCES OF NORTH AMERICA; and it is hoped that all distinction of colonies will be laid aside, so that one and the same spirit may animate the whole. . . .”¹

1. “Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution,” by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 1, page 565, footnote 4.

FLAG OF FIRST PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT

On the 19th day of July, Adjutant-General Gates reported 11,688 troops from Massachusetts, and 5,082 from Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. This was the "Continental Army," made up of companies enlisted for a few months only. Out of this must come, in 1777, the "Continental Line," enlisted "to serve during the present War," based on the Act of Congress of September 16, 1776, which provided for 88 battalions (16 more being added later).²

Egle, the historian, says: "Within ten days . . . after news of the battle of Bunker's Hill had reached the Province of Pennsylvania, her first rifle regiment was officered and completed, many of the eight companies numbering one hundred men. It was commanded by Colonel William Thompson, of Cumberland county. . . . The regiment . . . at once marched to the relief of Boston, where they arrived about the last of July. . . . They were the first companies south of the Hudson to arrive in Massachusetts. . . . They were stout and hardy yeomanry, the flower of Pennsylvania's frontiersmen. . . . Two companies of this battalion³ were subsequently ordered to accompany General Arnold . . . to Quebec. Their term of service was for one year."⁴

After Congress began organizing the Continental Line, Thompson's rifle regiment or battalion was claimed and counted by the State as the first of its Line regiments.⁵ The flag of this regiment probably dates back, in its design at least, to Benjamin Franklin's Associator regiments of 1747 and the French and Indian War period.

In speaking of the Pennsylvania Line the great name of General Anthony Wayne first comes to mind.⁶ But there were other brave and capable commanders whose names, while less known, are entitled to special glory in the Pennsylvania Line, such leaders as Thompson, Irvine, Stewart, Magaw, Miles, Cadwalader, and others.

2. "The Private Soldier Under Washington," by Charles K. Bolton; 1902; page 48; and authorities cited by him. (Note: While it seems to be the general understanding that the "Line" means regiments or battalions enlisted for the War, there appear to be some exceptions, in the earlier years especially, to this strict definition.)
3. "Regiment" and "battalion" appear to have been interchangeable terms, meaning usually (on paper at least, though often actually) from 500 to 600 officers and men.
4. "History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," by William Henry Egle, M.D.; 1877; page 154.
5. "Official History of the Militia and National Guard of Pennsylvania," by Major William P. Clarke; 1909; volume 1, page 135.
6. Notwithstanding his services and extraordinary military abilities, Congress did not permit Wayne to become a Major-General until after the war was over.

Flag of Eleventh Virginia Regiment Continental Line (Morgan's Rifle Corps)

(SEE COLOR PLATE 4)

MORGAN'S Rifle Corps began with the march to Cambridge of seventy-five riflemen, enlisted from Virginia, Western Pennsylvania, and Maryland, by Captain Daniel Morgan at Winchester, Virginia, in July, 1775.¹ The rifle was a new weapon in those days. The British army as well as most of the Colonial militia still used the old smooth-bore Brown Bess. But skillful gun-makers in America, especially at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, had recognized the importance of a spiral-grooved musket barrel, and were supplying primitive rifles to the settlers in the border counties.²

Morgan's men "attracted much attention," says Lossing, "and on account of their sure and deadly aim, they became a terror to the British. Wonderful stories of their exploits went to England, and one of the riflemen, who was carried there as a prisoner, was gazed at as a great curiosity."³

Although born in New Jersey, Morgan was a Virginian nearly all his life. At twenty he served under Braddock at Fort Duquesne. In the autumn of 1775 he joined the ill-fated adventure into Canada, with three companies of his riflemen. Captured at Quebec, he remained a prisoner until paroled in the following year. Congress made him Colonel of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment of the

1. "The Private Soldier Under Washington," by C. K. Bolton; 1902; page 19.
2. "The Rifle That Won the Revolution," by Roger Burlingame; in *Scribner's*; February, 1938. (In "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, *supra*.)
3. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 1, page 565.

Continental Army on November 12, 1776.⁴ After his parole had expired he began to recruit his regiment, incorporating therein his old rifle corps, and reached the camp at Morristown in April, 1777. Washington referred to this new regiment as a "corps of Rangers," to be "considered as a body of Light Infantry . . . exempted from the common duties of the line."⁵ It rendered great service at Saratoga, and was at Whitmarsh, Brandywine, Monmouth, and elsewhere. Shortly after Monmouth, in 1778, Morgan took over the brigade of General Woodford, because of the latter's illness. This event terminated Morgan's connection with his famous rifle corps.⁶

Morgan resigned from the army in 1779, partly because of rheumatism but chiefly because of the lack of recognition by Congress of his valuable efforts; but when the South was invaded by the British and the battle of Camden had been lost by Gates, he returned to the service. Congress appointed him brigadier-general in October, 1780. On January 17, 1781, he gained his remarkable victory over Tarleton at the Cowpens, in South Carolina, a battle brilliantly planned, 800 against 1100, won by the skillful, confident cooperation, under Morgan, of Pickens and the militia, John Eager Howard with his Maryland regulars, and William Washington with his brave hundred of cavalry.⁷

Morgan retired finally from the army in February, 1781.

The re-discovery of this noted flag of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment, begun in 1935, was consummated in 1939, by James J. Keating of Philadelphia, with the assistance and cooperation of members of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution. The original flag had been on exhibition in a museum of Revolutionary War relics at Alexandria, Virginia, until 1871. This museum was connected with the Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22, A. F. & A. M.⁸ Three sketches of the flag had been published, 1850, 1853, 1864, each differing in details from the others.⁹ The color of the field was not of record anywhere, apparently. In 1871 the museum was destroyed by fire. Some of its exhibits were

4. "Life of General Daniel Morgan of the Virginia Line of the Army of the United States," by James Graham; 1858; page 118.

5. Same; page 123.

6. Same; page 215.

7. "The True History of the American Revolution," by Sydney George Fisher; 1912; page 415. Also Lossing (see Note 3 above), volume 2, pages 431, 434.

8. "The Lodge of Washington and His Masonic Neighbors," 1928; also an edition of the same, by F. L. Brockett, in 1876.

9. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 431. *Illustrated News*, February 26, 1853; page 132. "History of Our Flag," by Ferdinand Sarmiento; 1864.

hurriedly carried to places of safety, among them being the Morgan flag. This was not learned, however, until 1926, when it was found, rolled in a sack with two other old flags, in very bad condition, in the attic of a house occupied by the widow of a former superintendent of the museum. The Lodge authorities would not then allow the flags to be examined, fearing that they would fall into fragments, but stored them away again, bag and all, in a room on an upper floor of the old City Hall in Alexandria. Not until December, 1939, was permission finally granted to open the receptacle and spread out the flags for a brief inspection. This courtesy was extended to Mr. Keating, who took quick and careful advantage of his opportunity, making sketches, noting color tints, fabric, lettering, etc., from which, afterwards, colored drawings were made, and also a full-size replica of the Morgan flag, to be carried by the Color Guard of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution with its other replicas of Revolutionary War regimental flags.

A description of this flag, as furnished by Mr. Keating, is as follows: Dimensions, about 50 inches by 40 inches. Buff-colored silk, with design, etc., painted on. The broad ribbons are white; the vines or scrolls, grayish-silver. All lettering is black; regiment-number *XI* on both sides of the flag. There is a green wreath around the date 1776; with a bow of pink ribbon in the lower part of the wreath. There is no fringe; the fly-end is frayed, although not apparently to represent fringe. The upper and lower edges of the flag are neatly sewed by hand, and devoid of fringe or wear. The staff, tassels, etc., were not found.

Flag of Third New York Regiment Continental Line

(SEE COLOR PLATE 4)

WHEN we see the flag of the Third New York Regiment we think first of old Fort Stanwix, built during the French and Indian War, where the city of Rome, New York, now stands. Then with its name changed to Fort Schuyler, we think of it in the Mohawk Valley wilderness, nearly surrounded by the British regulars and Indians of St. Leger, in 1777, holding bravely under Colonel Gansevoort awaiting the relief that finally came. We think also of the nearby militia battle of Oriskany where General Herkimer was ambushed and mortally wounded; and then of the march of Arnold with a more or less mythical force of volunteers from the main Army near Saratoga to effect the final rescue. And we must not forget the gallant sortie of Lieutenant-Colonel Marinus Willett, nor the supply boats under Lieutenant-Colonel Mellon which were rowed up the Mohawk River and managed to enter the fort almost at the last minute.¹ This was all a part of Burgoyne's hard-fought but unsuccessful campaign to cut the Colonies in half from Canada to New York City.

Avery shows a colored print of this flag in his "History of the United States and its People," published in 1909,² which he says is "reproduced from a carefully colored photograph by courteous permission of Mrs. Abraham Gansevoort Lansing," of Albany, New York, a lineal descendant of Colonel Gansevoort. It is quite possible, however, that this Third New York Regiment flag was not flown at Fort Schuyler. Mrs. Lansing said, some forty years ago,

1. "Battles of the United States," by Henry B. Dawson; 1858; volume 1, page 237, et seq.

2. By E. M. Avery; volume 6, page 333.

that it was not made until a year or two later, but that it was carried at the siege of Yorktown in 1781.³ Its ornate design was later adopted for the seal and flag of the state of New York.

It must also be said, emphatically, that this brave defense of Fort Schuyler, in August, 1777, was not fought under the new Stars and Stripes of June 14, 1777, as writers still persist in telling us, but under the old Continental or Grand Union Flag authorized by Washington at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1775.⁴ (See our Color Plate 1.)

Apparently this is the only New York regimental flag of the Revolution which has been preserved. That there were others, however, would appear from a bill which has come down to us as follows:⁵

"1776		
June 17,	To 7 pieces brown Hessian linen,	£ 14.14
24,	8 yards yellow taffeta,	5.12
	4½ yards white taffeta,	3.3
	19 yards blue Italian silk,	12.16.6
	1¾ yards green silk,	1.3.7
	4 skeins silk,	5.4
	7½ yards pink lute string,	3.15
	2⅔ yards green lute string,	1.6.8
		<hr/>
		£ 42.16.1

"the above was for Colours for the Regiments
in the New York Line. Deld. Richd Kip."

Through the courtesy of Mr. R. W. G. Vail, Librarian of New York State Library, Albany, New York, it is learned that the original flag passed, upon Mrs. Lansing's death, to the Albany Institute of History and Art, where it now is. She also gave or bequeathed his uniform, swords, and other Revolutionary War relics to the Smithsonian Institution; and the Gansevoort-Lansing collection of manuscripts, books, etc., to the New York Public Library.⁶

This Colonel Peter Gansevoort of the Continental Line was born in Albany, New York, in 1749. When twenty-six years of age he became major of the Second New York Regiment and went to

3. Preble says in his second edition of "Our Flag," on page 614, that "General Gansevoort wrote under his own hand a declaration that the flag was borne at the surrender of Yorktown in 1781."

4. "The Stars and Stripes in 1777," by John Spargo; 1928. (Copy in "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, supra.)

5. "New York in the Revolution"; Supplement, 1901; by E. C. Knight.

6. See letters from Mr. Vail, dated February 18 and 19, 1943 (filed in "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, supra).

Canada in Montgomery's invading army. In November, 1776, he was appointed Colonel of the Third Regiment, and was given command of Fort George, at the foot of Lake George. In April, 1777, he was given command of the "not only indefensible but untenable" Fort Schuyler.⁷ He served faithfully and capably throughout the War, distinguishing himself not only for his defense of Fort Schuyler, but also for his energy and effective strategy against the Indians in 1779, capturing the noted "lower Mohawk castle" with all its Indian inhabitants; and finally parading his splendid banner in the victory of Yorktown in 1781. In that same year he was made brigadier-general by the state of New York; and brigadier-general in the United States Army in 1809. He died in 1812, after serving in various important civic offices.⁸

7. "Battles of the United States," by Henry B. Dawson; 1858; volume 1, page 237, et seq.

8. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 1, page 240.

Flag of First Rhode Island Regiment Continental Line

(SEE COLOR PLATE 4)

ONE of the notable fights of the Revolution was the defense of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, New Jersey, on the Delaware River, across from what is now the lower end of Philadelphia. This was on October 22, 1777. The Americans were trying to prevent the British fleet, then near Newcastle, Delaware, from advancing northward. Fort Mifflin had been erected on an island below the mouth of the Schuylkill and Fort Mercer on the New Jersey bluffs diagonally opposite. There were American galleys in the River.

Colonel Christopher Greene, with his First Rhode Island Regiment, was in command at Fort Mercer and had been reinforced by a detachment of Colonel Angell's Second Rhode Island Regiment, so that he had four hundred men with him in a half-completed fort when Colonel Donop with twelve hundred Hessians came marching to the attack. We can picture their well-disciplined lines, colorful uniforms and flags. Greene could not hold his exterior lines against so many, and wisely retired to his inner defenses, occupying also, however, a curtain of the old works, where he could pour an enfilading fire upon any over-confident storming party attempting to take the stockade. Assaulting columns advanced against the north and south faces of the fort simultaneously, with great dash and spirit. But Greene met them with an overwhelming, deadly resistance. In less than an hour the Hessians were in retreat, leaving one-third of their force, and their mortally wounded commander, on the field. In this gallant exploit if any regimental flag was flown it must have

been that of the First Rhode Island Regiment of the Continental Line.¹

This Colonel Greene was forty years old, and a cousin of General Nathaniel Greene. He had been in command of the First Rhode Island Regiment since the beginning of 1777. He had hurried to the front with the Kentish Guards (of Rhode Island) in 1775 upon hearing the news of Lexington. He was appointed major in Colonel James M. Varnum's regiment, which joined the army near Cambridge, Massachusetts. He joined Arnold's expedition up the Kennebec River and through the woods to the St. Lawrence in Canada. He was captured at Quebec, December 31, 1775, after the death of General Montgomery, but was later exchanged. On November 4, 1777, Congress voted him a sword for his defense of Fort Mercer. On May 13, 1781, while on patrol and outpost duty in Westchester County, New York, he was killed by Delancey's Tories in a surprise attack, but not until he himself had disposed of several of his assailants.²

There are two Rhode Island regimental flags still in existence. The flag with the anchor and motto, shown here (on Color Plate 4, supra) as that of the *First* Rhode Island Regiment, is so labelled in the State House at Providence³ where it is now preserved. But we do not know where or by whom it was so labelled. We do know, however, that both flags were presented on February 28, 1784, to the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations by the "officers of the line" of the state as being "the standards of their corps." The Assembly replied in a letter of the same date, signed by the governor and the speaker, addressed "To the officers of the line of this state's late continental battalion," and voted "that the standards should be carefully preserved under the immediate care of the governor, to perpetuate the noble exploits of the brave corps."⁴

The flag with the anchor and motto is shown in nearly all of the flag books and articles hitherto published as being the Rhode Island flag of the Revolution; the other, as a rule, not being pictured

1. "Battles of the American Revolution," by Colonel Henry B. Carrington, U.S.A.; 1876; page 394. Also "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 87.
2. "Diary of Colonel Israel Angell," edited by Edward Field; 1899; page 7, note 1. Also "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 88.
3. "Early Rhode Island Flags," a booklet by Howard M. Chapin; 1925; Notes 2 and 3 on page 5. (In "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, supra.)
4. "Our Flag," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1872; page 206; citing "Rhode Island Colonial Records," volume X, page 14.

or mentioned at all. Furthermore, it is the one whose anchor, stars and motto of Hope form the basis of the present state flag adopted in 1877. We have, therefore, assumed for the purposes of this article that it was the flag of the *First* Regiment.⁵

Flag description. White silk field, about 90 inches by 65 inches. Light blue canton containing 13 five-pointed *gold* stars, each star outlined with a deeper blue and having a shadow on the left side. The stars are arranged 3-2-3-2-3. In the field is a light blue fowl anchor with a dark blue rope, sewed on. Above the anchor is a motto, HOPE, in dark blue, painted on.

5. Howard M. Chapin, former Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, in his booklet on "Early Rhode Island Flags," page 5, calls the other Rhode Island regimental flag the flag of the *First* Regiment, using this explanation (footnote 2, page 5): "It seems more probable that the flag bearing the wording 'R Island Regt' would be the one adopted by the first regiment, when there was only one regiment, rather than by the second regiment." He mentions also that Field, in his "Diary of Israel Angell" (in frontispiece and note on page xviii), states that the flag with the anchor and motto is that of Colonel Angell's Second Rhode Island Regiment, and does not mention the other flag at all. Stone, in "Our French Allies," page 453, Chapin says (page 5, note 3), gives an engraving of the Second Regiment flag, which he shows as "merely a plain flag bearing the lettering SECOND RHODE ISLAND REGIMENT. No colors are designated and no authority is given." Preble, in "Our Flag," 1872 edition, page 208, gives descriptions of two flags, based on letters of 1871 and 1872 from Hon. J. R. Bartlett, Secretary of state of Rhode Island. After describing "Flag No. 1" (with the anchor and motto) he adds that at the commencement of the war of the rebellion "this flag was taken to Washington by the 2d Rhode Island regiment, but was soon returned."

Flag of Second Rhode Island Regiment Continental Line

' (SEE COLOR PLATE 4)

THE Second Rhode Island Regiment of the Continental Line was formed on January 1, 1777. Colonel Israel Angell was its commander from January 13, 1777, until he left the service in 1781 upon the consolidation of the First and Second Rhode Island Regiments.¹

The Second Regiment had a long and distinguished career: Brandywine, Red Bank, Valley Forge, Monmouth (a conspicuous part), Newport (under Sullivan), Springfield (with special mention by Washington).²

It was this lone regiment, with a single gun, and perhaps this flag flying, which made its stubborn, skillful stand in an orchard across the first bridge over the Rahway River, at Springfield, New Jersey, on the direct road from Elizabeth to Morristown, only a dozen miles away, against the whole left column of the heavy British advance into New Jersey, from Staten Island, New York, under Sir Henry Clinton, on June 23, 1780. The regiment lost one-fourth of its number before falling back to the second bridge,³ but it gave our left wing under General Greene time enough to mass in the Short Hills in a strong position from which the powerful British column later turned back. Historians say that if this British maneuver could have forced its way through the passes of the Short Hills of New Jersey to Washington's camp and magazines at Morris-

1. "Diary of Colonel Israel Angell," edited by Edward Field; 1899; page XIII.

2. "Battles of the American Revolution," by Colonel Henry B. Carrington, U. S. Army; 1876; page 500. Also "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 1, page 323.

3. "Diary of Colonel Israel Angell"; 1899; page XIII.

town the War might have ended then and there. It was another of those serious occasions when America, well led, did not falter.

Heitman, in his "Officers of the Continental Army," says that from May to December, 1775, Angell was Major in Colonel Hitchcock's Rhode Island Regiment. From January 1 to December 31, 1776, he was Major in the Eleventh Continental Infantry. January 1, 1777, Angell was elected Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Rhode Island Regiment, Continental Line. Upon the death of Colonel Hitchcock, he was commissioned Colonel, January 13, 1777.

Israel Angell had a good education, and his ancestors had come to Rhode Island with Roger Williams. He was a man of medium height, fair complexion, and military bearing. He was married three times, and had seventeen children, eight of whom became octogenarians. He was courting a fourth lady when he died in 1832, ninety-two years of age.⁴

A remnant of the flag which we and others have chosen to call the flag of the Second Rhode Island Regiment is still preserved in the State House at Providence, Rhode Island. The controversy as to the two Rhode Island regimental flags is analyzed at considerable length in the preceding chapter, entitled "Flag of First Rhode Island Regiment, Continental Line."

Flag Description. White field, about 51 inches in width by 45 inches in length. Light blue canton of silk sewed on a white field of silk. This canton contains thirteen white 5-pointed stars painted on the blue silk, arranged 3-2-3-2-3, in parallel lines. In the lower part of the field is a blue scroll, painted on both sides, with an inscription in white letters, R. ISLAND REGT.

4. Same: "Diary of Colonel Israel Angell, 1778-1781," edited by Edward Field; 1899; page XV.

Flags of Second New Hampshire Regiment Continental Line

(SEE COLOR PLATE 5)

THE Second New Hampshire Regiment, under Colonel Enoch Poor, was one of the three additional regiments organized by the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire in May, 1775, to reinforce the volunteers from that State already gathered at Cambridge under John Stark. These volunteers became the First New Hampshire Regiment. The Third was placed under Colonel James Reed. The New Hampshire regiments served at the siege of Boston, and in part at least in the expedition to Canada.¹ Brigaded under Arthur St. Clair, they were in Washington's army during his retreat through New Jersey in 1776. They crossed the Delaware with him on Christmas Night, and fought in the battles of Trenton and Princeton.² Later they became part of the Continental Line.

On February 25, 1777, the Committee of Safety of New Hampshire ordered the three regiments to Ticonderoga, but appointed Colonel Poor to be Brigadier instead of Stark, who thereupon resigned and took no part in the resistance by Schuyler to the southward advance of Burgoyne, until just before the battle of Bennington.³

The Second New Hampshire Regiment lost its two flags to the British near Fort Anne, New York, on July 8, 1777. At this Fort about five hundred Americans had been posted, under Colonel Long, principally invalids and convalescents of the army, with

1. "History of the First New Hampshire Regiment in the War of the Revolution," by Frederic Kidder; 1868; page 3.

2. "The Battles of Trenton and Princeton," by William S. Stryker; 1898; page 354.

3. "History of the First New Hampshire Regiment," by Frederic Kidder; 1868; page 20.



FLAG OF
SECOND NEW HAMPSHIRE REGIMENT
(BUFF FIELD)



FLAG OF
SECOND NEW HAMPSHIRE REGIMENT
(BLUE FIELD)



FLAG OF
THIRD MARYLAND REGIMENT



FLAG OF
SECOND CONNECTICUT REGIMENT



RATTLESNAKE FLAG



FLAG OF
PULASKI'S LEGION

orders from General Schuyler to defend the place. Upon Burgoyne's approach Colonel Long marched his little force northward three-quarters of a mile to a narrow, rocky defile, attacked and nearly surrounded the 9th British Regiment of Foot, giving way only when his powder and ball gave out and some Indian reinforcements had arrived for the enemy. Setting fire to Fort Anne, Colonel Long led his Americans back to the headquarters of General Schuyler at Fort Edward.⁴ In this brave fight the Second New Hampshire Regiment lost its two flags, which "were carried to England in the personal baggage of Lieutenant-Colonel Hill," commander of the 9th Regiment of Foot of Burgoyne's army. "From him they descended by inheritance to . . . Colonel George W. Rogers of Wykeham, Sussex, from whom they were purchased by Mr. Edward Tuck, and presented to the New Hampshire Historical Society in 1912."⁵

The Second New Hampshire Regiment fought in the battle of Saratoga as a part of Enoch Poor's brigade.⁶ It participated afterward in the battles around Philadelphia, went to Valley Forge,⁷ and served at Monmouth, pressing the enemy at the close of the action. In May, 1779, the New Hampshire brigade was in Sullivan's expedition against the Indians⁸ and thus marched up from Easton, Pennsylvania, past Hungry Hill and the Shades of Death swamp in the Poconos, to the Susquehanna Valley and northward into the state of New York.⁹

The two existing flags of this regiment are pictured in Mr. Hammond's book,¹⁰ and are described therein as follows: "Both these flags are of silk, one blue and one buff, and measure five feet on the staff and five feet six inches on the fly. The blue flag has a gold fringe. In the center is a small red shield, with golden scrolls on either side and over it. On the shield are the letters 'N.H.' interlaced, under which is '2d,' and under that 'Regt.' On the scrolls

4. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 1, page 141. Also "Life and Times of Philip Schuyler," by Benson J. Lossing; 1873; page 221, volume 2.
5. "History of the Seal and Flag of the State of New Hampshire," by Otis Grant Hammond, A. M., Superintendent of New Hampshire Historical Society; 1916; page 40. (A copy of this book is in "Flag Book Sources," Volume B; see Preface, supra.)
6. "History of the First New Hampshire Regiment," by Frederic Kidder; 1868; page 34.
7. Same; page 40.
8. Same; page 47.
9. "History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," by William Henry Egle, M.D.; 1877; pages 946, 948.
10. "History of the Seal and Flag of the State of New Hampshire," by Otis Grant Hammond, A. M., Superintendent of New Hampshire Historical Society; 1916; pages 40-41. (See Note 5, this chapter.)

is the motto 'The Glory, Not the Prey.' In the upper corner next the staff are two small superimposed crosses, the upright cross being red, bordered with gold, the diagonal cross gold, bordered with red. The buff flag bears in its center a golden disc, with 13 rays and 13 lines radiating from it, each of the latter touching one of 13 interlaced golden rings. The disc bears the motto 'We Are One,' and each ring the name of one of the 13 original states. In the upper corner next the staff are eight triangles, alternately red and blue, so arranged as to form two crosses, one upright and the other diagonal." The two crosses are really just the buff-colored silk of the flag showing through between the triangles.

Flag of Third Maryland Regiment Continental Line

(SEE COLOR PLATE 5)

THIS flag became the property of the State of Maryland in 1907, and was deposited in the State House at Annapolis. Shortly afterward Major-General Riggs, Adjutant-General of the State, wrote to Gherardi Davis giving its history. While there is no inscription on the flag, nevertheless General Riggs states: "It is positively known to have been carried as the regimental flag of the Third Maryland Regiment under Colonel John Eager Howard at the battle of Cowpens, South Carolina, in January, 1781."¹ In this battle it was carried by color-sergeant William Batchelor, who was wounded there, and sent to his home in Baltimore, bringing the flag with him. After William Batchelor's death, on December 10, 1781, the flag remained in his family, and was carried by his son, Joshua F. Batchelor, in the Battle of North Point, Maryland, in the War of 1812, where it was cut in several places by British bullets. It continued in the family until 1843, when it was presented to the Old Defenders' Association, and by that Association, in 1894, to The Society of the War of 1812, which in turn presented it finally to the State of Maryland.²

Can we picture the Maryland brigade, carrying this flag with its strange stars and stripes, now faded and dim, but then in bright colorings, marching suddenly to the rear, at Cowpens, as if for flight; then in unbelievable discipline, led by two great leaders,

1. "Regimental Colors of the War of the Revolution," by Gherardi Davis; 1910 Supplement, page 3.
2. "The Evolution of the American Flag," by George Canby and Lloyd Balderston; 1909; page 81, et seq.

Dan Morgan and John Eager Howard, turning about to face the astonished foe, at close quarters, with a murderous volley and a bayonet charge of the Continental Line: to victory, to annihilation of this Tarleton and his cruel force, 830 killed, wounded or prisoners out of 1200? If this was the flag we think it was, it symbolizes Cowpens, "a most remarkable battle," says Sydney George Fisher, "the first originally contrived battle that had been fought by the patriots."³

It was a victory of serious importance, in the wearing down of Cornwallis' army of British regulars and Tories, which, followed by Guilford, Eutaw, Green Spring, and other battles, small in themselves, but fateful in results, led on to the great surrender at Yorktown.

This flag, and the crucial charge of the Maryland Line at Cowpens, which was said to have been "the first occasion in the war in which the American troops fairly conquered the British with the bayonet in the open field,"⁴ only climaxed the extraordinary achievements of the regular Maryland regiments in the Revolution. At the battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, on the extreme American right, Colonel Smallwood's Maryland regiment under Major Mordecai Gist, Colonel Hazlett's small Delaware regiment,⁵ and the Pennsylvania battalions of Atlee and Keichline, personally led and directed, as an impromptu division, by Major-General Stirling (who tarried until he could do no more and was captured), undoubtedly saved Washington's army, and perhaps also the American cause. This Maryland regiment of less than 450 men was made up of the sons of the best families of Maryland; and yet, almost surrounded, they gave their lives, voluntarily and deliberately, in six bayonet charges against far-outnumbering British forces; to save the retreat of our army, whose left, under Sullivan, had been surprised and broken.⁶ General Greene, who had planned and would have commanded our defense, and who had studied every foot of the terrain, was taken suddenly ill with a raging fever a few days before the battle, and everything seemed to go wrong under Sullivan and Putnam, who were thrown into the breach, without much information, at the last moment.⁷

3. "The True History of the American Revolution," by Sydney George Fisher; 1902; page 413.

4. "History of Maryland," by J. T. Scharf; 1879; page 399.

5. Colonel Smallwood and Colonel Hazlett were both absent that day in New York City, on a court-martial detail: see "History of Maryland," by J. T. Scharf; 1879; page 243.

6. Same; page 245.

7. "Battles of the American Revolution," by Colonel H. B. Carrington, U.S.A.; 1876; pages 198, 203, 204.

In the later battles in the Carolinas, usually under Lieutenant-Colonel Howard or Colonel Otho H. Williams, the Maryland Line again performed deeds almost impossible: hoping at Camden to avert the American collapse, and at Eutaw contributing by a sweeping bayonet attack to a very significant "drawn victory."⁸

Born in Maryland in 1752, John Eager Howard was identified after 1776 with the Maryland Brigade of the Continental Line, serving as an officer in several of its regiments. Previously, in October, 1776, he had commanded a company in the so-called Flying Camp under General Hugh Mercer. He fought at Germantown, Monmouth, Camden, Cowpens, Guilford Courthouse, Hobkirk's Hill and Eutaw Springs (where he was severely wounded). He was for three years governor of Maryland, and United States Senator for seven years. In 1796 he declined a seat in Washington's cabinet. His wife, Margaret, was a daughter of Chief Justice Benjamin Chew, of Pennsylvania, about whose very house, Cliveden, Howard had helped to fight an important part of the battle of Germantown. He died in 1827.⁹

Flag Description. Davis says that the original flag "is of a thin material, similar to cheesecloth, a little over five feet long and between 30 and 34 inches wide, the greatest width being at the staff. It is narrowest in the middle. It has 13 stripes, and 13 stars, 12 in a nearly circular ring and one in the centre."¹⁰ "The flag is in a fair state of preservation, although showing the holes made by bullets."¹¹

8. "History of Maryland," by J. T. Scharf; 1879; page 425.

9. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, pages 433, 497.

10. "Regimental Colors of the War of the Revolution," by Gherardi Davis; 1910 Supplement, page 3.

11. "The Evolution of the American Flag," by George Canby and Lloyd Balderston; 1909; page 83.

Flag of Second Connecticut Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 5)

ABOUT 1830 there was in the possession of Colonel John Mix, of Farmington, Connecticut, the flag of dark red silk which is pictured here. This information was given to Gherardi Davis,¹ probably about 1905 or 1906, by the Connecticut Historical Society, where the flag is now deposited. Colonel Mix, the Society goes on to say, was adjutant of the Second Regiment of the Connecticut Line in the Revolution, from June 1, 1778, to January 1, 1781, and the flag is supposed to be of that or earlier date. "It may have been carried in the Revolution, although the color designated for the Second Regiment's flag was blue, while this is red. Possibly it was for the use of the second regiment of the colony's militia before the Revolution. There is no record of its history previous to its being in Colonel Mix's possession."² Davis further comments: "This flag, of course, does not antedate 1711, as prior to that date the Connecticut arms bore thirteen vines not three."³ These three vines represent the three original settlements of Connecticut: Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield.⁴

Preble refers to the flag as "an old red silk flag, about a yard square, on which is a tracing of the arms of Connecticut, in a darker red paint, and over them, in gilt letters, this inscription: II Bat: II REG: CONNECTICUT Raised 1640. This is supposed to allude to the great English rebellion, as a presage of what might

1. "Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution," by Gherardi Davis; 1907; page 9.
2. Connecticut Historical Society's Statement, quoted by Davis (see Note 1 above).
3. "Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution," by Gherardi Davis; 1907; page 10.
4. *National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1917; page 328; Also same, September, 1934; page 356.

be hoped for in the rebellion just begun.”⁵ The Connecticut Historical Society states, however, under date of July 1, 1943: “The figures and letters are not superimposed on the banner as Preble says. They are on the obverse side of the flag and the motto and shield are on the reverse side.” This letter, from the present custodian of the flag, describes the flag as follows: “The flag is dark red in color and bears on the obverse side in gold letters,

II. BAT:
II. REG:
CONNECTICUT
Raised 1640

On the reverse side is a shield, the background being of red silk, while the three grapevines and the border are of gold. The bow and ribbons are blue and the scrollwork and motto ribbon are of gold. The motto reads: QUI TRAN: SUST:, an abbreviation of our State motto QUI TRANSTULIT SUSTINET. You may see exactly how the flag looks by referring to Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution by Gherardi Davis, plates II and III, and to his description of the flag on pages 9 and 10.”⁶ Davis says that the shadings and outlines are in black, and the letters of the motto are black.

Preble says that on July 18, 1775, Major-General Putnam assembled his division of Connecticut troops on Prospect Hill, near Cambridge, Massachusetts, to have read to it a manifesto of Congress. The reading was followed by a prayer. “The artillery of the fort thundered a general salute, and the colors recently sent to General Putnam, bearing on one side the Connecticut motto, ‘Qui transtulit sustinet,’⁷ and on the other the recognized motto of Massachusetts, ‘An Appeal to Heaven,’ were unfurled.”⁸ Preble says that this flag was scarlet in color.⁹ But it was not, of course, the flag of the Second Connecticut Regiment, as preserved to us; but the two flags may have borne some resemblance to each other.¹⁰

5. “History of the Flag,” by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1880; page 197.

6. For this letter from Connecticut Historical Society, signed by Frances A. Hoxie, Assistant to the Librarian, see “Flag Book Sources,” referred to in Preface, supra.

7. Meaning “He who transported us hither, will sustain us.”

8. “Our Flag,” by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1872; page 139; citing Bancroft’s “History of the United States”; also Frothingham’s “Siege of Boston”; in a footnote; and published diary of Lieutenant Paul Lunt.

9. “History of the Flag,” by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; edition of 1880; page 199.

10. Same as Note 3, supra.

FLAG OF SECOND CONNECTICUT REGIMENT

In 1775, the General Assembly of Connecticut ordered eight regiments to be raised, to serve for short terms of enlistment. They had all disappeared when the Continental Line was formed in 1777. The standards of these regiments were ordered to be colored as follows: 1st, yellow; 2nd, blue; 3rd, scarlet; 4th, crimson; 5th, white; 6th, azure; 7th, blue; 8th, orange.¹¹

11. "History of the Flag," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1880; page 197.

Rattlesnake Flag

(SEE COLOR PLATE 5)

“THIS famous flag consists of thirteen horizontal alternate red and blue stripes—sometimes also alternate red and white stripes—bearing diagonally across them a rattlesnake in a moving or running position, with the threatening motto above or beneath, ‘Don’t tread on me.’ The flag was used by different organizations of the American army during the Revolution, but particularly by the vessels of the American navy, as stated by John Fay in a letter dated July, 1776. Captain John Paul Jones was supposed to have used this special device, though an English writer of the period of Jones’ cruise in European waters (in 1779) is quoted as saying ‘a strange flag has lately appeared in our seas, having a pine tree with the portraiture of a rattlesnake coiled up at its roots and with these daring words, ‘Don’t tread on me.’ This flag would seem to be almost the same as that designed by Colonel Gadsden, of South Carolina, in 1776, for ‘the Commander in Chief of the American Navy.’ The brave Captain Gustavus Conyngham also carried the rattlesnake flag at the masthead of his little vessels, the *Surprise* and *Revenge*, in his continued successful attacks on British commerce in 1777 and the following years of the Revolution.”

(From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; see Preface, supra.)

Flag of Pulaski's Legion

(SEE COLOR PLATE 5)

“**A** CAVALRY guidon of double crimson silk with the designs on each side handsomely embroidered in yellow silk, and the letters shaded with green. On the obverse side of the banner appears the ‘all-seeing Eye’ within a circle of thirteen stars surrounded by the motto, ‘Non alius regit’ (No other governs). On the reverse are the letters ‘U.S.’ encircled with the motto, ‘Unita virtus forcior’ (Union makes valor stronger). This banner was made for and presented to the brave Count Pulaski by the Moravian sisters at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, after he had raised and organized an independent corps of sixty-eight horse and two hundred foot at Baltimore, Maryland, in 1778. Pulaski received the banner gratefully and bore it gallantly through many battles until he fell at Savannah, Georgia, in the autumn of 1779. The banner was saved by his lieutenant—though himself sorely wounded—and it eventually reached Baltimore after the close of the war, where it was used in the procession that welcomed La Fayette to that city, during his visit to this country in 1824, and was then deposited, first in Peale’s Museum and afterwards with the Maryland Historical Society (in 1844), in whose rooms it is still carefully preserved. But little of its former beauty remains, the crimson silk being now faded to a dull brownish red. A deep green bullion fringe ornamented the edge of the banner which was attached to a lance when borne in the field. The size of the original flag is only twenty inches square. The presentation of the flag to Pulaski and the soldier’s glorious death are commemorated by the poet Longfellow in his stirring ‘Hymn of the Moravian Nuns,’ at the consecration of the banner.”

(From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; see Preface, *supra*.)

Flags of Second Regiment Light Dragoons Continental Line

(SEE COLOR PLATE 6)

IN THE retreat of Washington's army across New Jersey in late 1776, the only cavalry present was a "Detachment of Colonel Elisha Sheldon's Second regiment light dragoons."¹ These dragoons, who seem to have come from Connecticut,² may have been all that Alexander Graydon, in his "Memoirs," said they were: Men "beyond the meridian of life," without uniformity of clothing or discipline, and armed mostly with fowling pieces.³ But surely something in the way of horsemen or cavalry gave Washington his needed warnings, his flanking and scouting, in part at least, during his dangerous retreat. It may have been these "old-fashioned men," as Graydon calls them, who carried on stubbornly and guarded through for him.

Perhaps, using our imagination, we might consider the handsome but sedate blue and gold battalion or squadron flag of the Second Dragoons as representing this more strictly Connecticut portion of the regiment.

These Second Dragoons, under Colonel Sheldon, seem later to have been assumed by New York State to be part of the New York Continental Line, together with Colonel Moylan's Fourth Regiment Light Dragoons.⁴ Just how Moylan was identified in

1. "The Battles of Trenton and Princeton," by William S. Stryker; 1898; page 309.

2. Heitman's "Officers of the Continental Army," page 493, states that Elisha Sheldon, in June, 1776, was "Major Commandant Battalion, Connecticut Light Horse," and that on December 12, 1776, he became Colonel of the Second Continental Dragoons, serving thus until he was made a brigadier-general, September 30, 1780.

3. "The Battles of Trenton and Princeton," by William S. Stryker; 1898; footnote on page 10.

4. "New York in the Revolution," by James A. Roberts, Comptroller; 2nd edition, 1898; page 67.

any way with New York State (except that he served with his Dragoons along the Hudson in 1780) is not clear, as he was a Pennsylvanian from the first, when he joined the army before Boston in 1775, and upon the recommendation of John Dickinson of Pennsylvania was placed in the commissariat department. In March, 1776, he was appointed an aide-de-camp to General Washington. In June, 1776, he was appointed quartermaster-general, by Congress, on Washington's recommendation, but resigned in October, to raise the first Pennsylvania regiment of cavalry, an independent organization which served at Valley Forge in 1777-1778, on the Hudson River in 1780, and in the southern campaign in 1781. Before his retirement he was commissioned a brigadier-general.⁵

But the Second Dragoons, to the extent that they were commanded or were led and influenced by the brilliant Major Benjamin Tallmadge, in the later years of the War, were essentially a New York organization. In our imagination they were well entitled to parade the bright *pink* standard which, together with the blue and gold standard, also belonged to that gallant regiment. Tallmadge was one of the most capable and trusted of the Revolutionary War officers whose commissions were below the rank of brigadier-general. He was born on Long Island, New York, in 1754, and as a boy knew its small ports and coves and byways. He was graduated from Yale in 1773, and then became superintendent of a school in Connecticut. In 1775 he joined the Connecticut militia regiment of his friend, Colonel Chester, as adjutant, and hurried to the front.⁶ He was later at the battle of Brooklyn and endured the mile-wide crossing to New York on the night of August 29, 1776. In December Congress resolved to raise four regiments of horse. "Before our regiment was dismissed," says Tallmadge in his "Memoir" (page 16), "I had the offer of the first troop in the 2nd regiment of light dragoons, commanded by Colonel Elisha Sheldon." His commission as captain was dated December 14, 1776, signed by John Hancock, President of Congress. He went to Philadelphia at once "to receive instructions from the Board of War about raising and equipping this new body of troops," which was ordered to rendezvous at Wethersfield, Connecticut.⁷ There were men and horses enough for four troops.

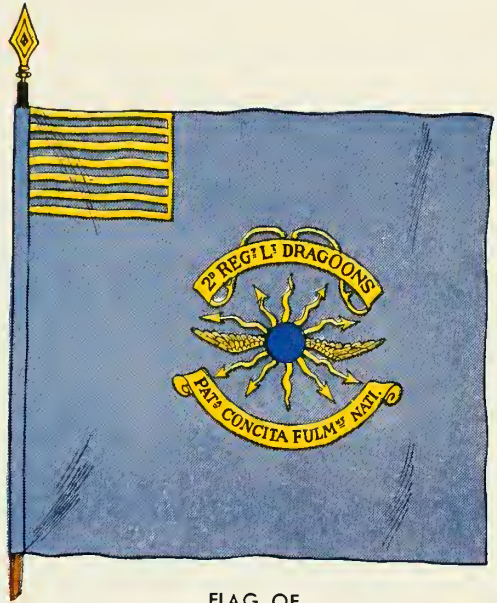
5. Appleton's "Cyclopedia of American Biography."

6. "Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, Prepared by Himself at the Request of His Children"; 1858; pages 6 to 9.

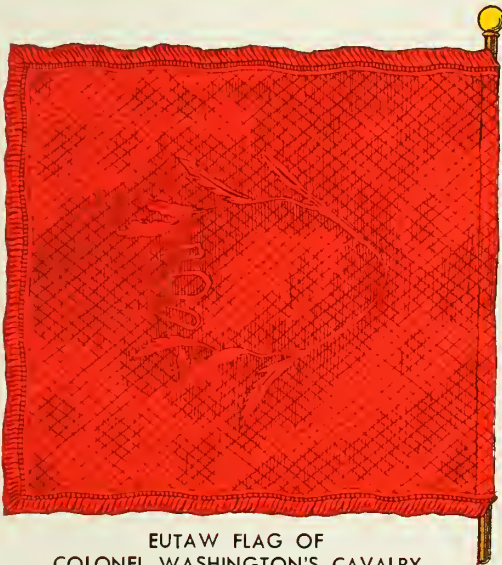
7. Same; page 18.



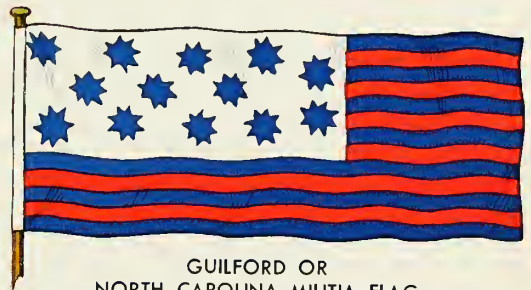
FLAG OF
SECOND REGIMENT LIGHT DRAGOONS
(PINK FIELD)



FLAG OF
SECOND REGIMENT LIGHT DRAGOONS
(BLUE FIELD)



EUTAW FLAG OF
COLONEL WASHINGTON'S CAVALRY



GUILFORD OR
NORTH CAROLINA MILITIA FLAG



WHITE PLAINS FLAG



FLAG OF
UNITED TRAIN OF ARTILLERY OF PROVIDENCE

Tallmadge became Major in the "Second Regiment Light Dragoons," on April 7, 1777. Joining Washington at Middlebrook, where were also the cavalry regiments of Colonel Bland and Colonel Moylan, the Second Dragoon fought at Brandywine. At Germantown, under Tallmadge, they were at the head of General Sullivan's division (at left of the American center), in a heavy fog. At Valley Forge the Dragoons were used as an advanced corps for observation. In the campaign of 1778-1779 they were in Westchester County, New York, along the shores of the Sound. In July, 1779, Colonel Sheldon and his regiment were attacked by British light horse and some infantry. This, says Tallmadge, was principally a cavalry fight with broadsword, Sheldon retreating when the infantry appeared on his flanks.⁸

Tallmadge now undertook the several important military operations which gave especial distinction to his name. On September 5, 1779, he proceeded (in the peculiar whaleboat warfare which was carried on in this vicinity) from near Stamford, Connecticut, with 130 of his light dragoons, dismounted, and at ten o'clock at night attacked and surprised 500 strongly intrenched Tory marauders at Lloyd's Neck, Long Island. Without losing a man he took nearly all of them back to the Connecticut shore as prisoners.⁹

In 1780 some Rhode Island Tory refugees had constructed near Oyster Bay, Long Island, what they called Fort George, which consisted of a strongly barricaded house, and a redoubt ninety-six feet square, with bastions, ditch and abatis. There were also stockades twelve feet in height, and two mounted cannon. Tallmadge crossed from Fairfield, Connecticut, on the evening of November 21, 1780, with only eighty of his Dragoons. A storm intervened, but at dawn on November 23 he burst through the stockade, and assailing the redoubt on three sides, the entire garrison surrendered without resistance. Having demolished the fort and the vessels at the wharf laden with stores, he returned to Fairfield with 300 prisoners, again without losing a man.¹⁰ "This brilliant exploit," says Lossing, "drew from Washington a very complimentary letter, and from Congress a gratifying resolution."

Another Tallmadge exploit well worth mentioning was that of October 9, 1780, by Major Trescott with 150 of the Dragoons

8. Same; pages 20 to 32.

9. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 627.

10. Same; volume 2, page 628.

(dismounted) who landed at four o'clock in the morning and at dawn assailed a military work called Fort Slongo, near Smithtown, Long Island, defended by 150 Tories. After some resistance the garrison yielded, and the blockhouse and two iron cannon were destroyed. The Dragoons, without losing a man, returned with 21 prisoners, a brass three-pounder cannon, 70 stand of arms and a quantity of ammunition.¹¹

Tallmadge, as is well known, was closely connected with the André episode. The prisoner had been turned over to the North Castle post of the Second Dragoons, where Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, Tallmadge's superior, was in command. Jameson had already sent André forward under guard, to be conducted to Arnold. He also wrote a letter to Arnold telling him what had occurred and expressing suspicion. Tallmadge had been below White Plains that day and did not reach North Castle until evening. He protested boldly against Jameson's actions. Jameson ordered André to be brought back under an escort commanded by Major Tallmadge, who took him to Colonel Sheldon's headquarters at North Salem, as a more secure place. But Jameson insisted on his letter being delivered to Arnold. This was done in time to allow Arnold to escape on the *Vulture*.¹²

There remains still something to be told, however, of the important and confidential part played by this same Tallmadge of the Second Dragoons in Washington's spy system, from 1778 to 1783. Tallmadge (alias John Bolton) was the go-between, the clearing-house, through whom the two principal spies, known as Culper, Sr., and Culper, Jr., transmitted their information to the Chief of the Army.¹³

Tallmadge retired from the army with the rank of colonel. He married in 1784, served in Congress from Connecticut, 1800 to 1816, and died at the age of 81, in 1835.¹⁴

The two Flags. The blue standard is owned (1943) by Morgan B. Brainard, of Hartford, Connecticut, and "for some years has been deposited as a loan with the Connecticut State Library where it may be seen by the public." The pink one, however, Mr. Brainard says, was similarly owned by his uncle, Senator Morgan G. Bulkeley, but "in some curious fashion, never explained, this flag disappeared and its whereabouts is

11. Same; volume 2, page 628.

12. Same; volume 1, pages 757-758.

13. "General Washington's Spies," by Morton Pennypacker; 1939, published by Long Island Historical Society.

14. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 627.

not known. . . . Frequently afterwards, search was made for it and inquiry sent to every possible place where it might have been loaned but no trace of it was ever found." See letter of August 20, 1943.¹⁵ Both standards are shown in Gherardi Davis' "Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution," plates V and VI. Both are shown also in "Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge," edited by Henry Phelps Johnson; 1904; published by Society of Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York. There is also a colored print of the blue standard in E. M. Avery's "History of the United States and Its People"; 1909; volume 6, page 252.

15. In "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, *supra*.

Eutaw Flag of Colonel Washington's Cavalry

(SEE COLOR PLATE 6)

INTO the personal or anecdotal history of the Revolution Colonel William Washington enters vividly.

His great adventure was at the battle of Cowpens, on March 17, 1781, when he had his famous personal encounter with the British Colonel Tarleton, who, at the close of the battle, was in full retreat with his cavalry.¹ In the hotness of the pursuit, Washington, accompanied only by a sergeant and a mere boy of a bugler, had pressed forward some thirty yards ahead of his troop. Suddenly three British officers wheeled their horses and rode toward him. Washington immediately engaged Tarleton, the middle one of the three, and had gone as far as to wound him in the hand, when the British officer on his right rode up behind Washington and would have dealt him such a saber cut as might have finished the fight if Washington's sergeant had not parried the blow with his saber. Another attempt to cut him down, by the British officer on Washington's left, would have succeeded if the assailant's arm had not been disabled at just the right moment by a pistol shot from Washington's brave little bugler. Washington sustained a pistol wound in the knee. Then more British horsemen arrived and carried Tarleton off with them to the rear.

Lossing relates that this wound of Colonel Tarleton was the subject for the sallies of wit of two American ladies, who were sisters, daughters of Colonel Montfort, of Halifax county, North Carolina. When the British were in Halifax County, on their way to Virginia, Tarleton was at the house of an American. In the

1. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 436. Also "Life of Daniel Morgan," by James Graham; 1858; page 306. And "Life of Washington," by John Marshall; volume IV, page 347; cited in "History of Maryland," by J. T. Scharf; 1879; volume 2, page 408.

presence of Mrs. Jones (one of these sisters) Tarleton spoke of Colonel Washington as an illiterate fellow, hardly able to write his name. "Ah, colonel," said Mrs. Jones, "you ought to know better, for you bear on your person proof that he knows very well *how to make his mark*." At another time, Tarleton was speaking sarcastically of Washington, in the presence of her sister, Mrs. Ashe. "I would be happy to see Colonel Washington," he said, with a sneer. Mrs. Ashe instantly replied, "If you had looked behind you, Colonel Tarleton, at the battle of the Cowpens, you would have enjoyed that pleasure."²

This Colonel Tarleton, with the encouragement of Cornwallis, by his cruelties, his destruction of the property of friend and foe alike, his treachery and disregard of the rules of civilized warfare, had done more than anyone or anything in Britain or America to inflame for war the peace-loving southland of America (inclined to favor, neutrally, the mother country of England).³

We wonder how William Washington's quaint and curious flag was devised. It seems that he was engaged to marry (and eventually did) a Miss Jane Elliott, daughter of Colonel Charles Elliott, owner of "Sandy Hill," a large plantation near Charleston, South Carolina. On one of his visits to her home the question arose of a flag for Colonel Washington's cavalry. Miss Elliott cut a square of crimson silk from the end of a rich damask curtain and fashioned it into a flag, which, being mounted on a hickory pole, became famous at Cowpens, and Hobkirk's Hill, and finally at Eutaw Springs. This same Jane Elliott, in 1827, widow of William Washington, committed the flag to the care of the Washington Light Infantry, of Charleston, South Carolina, an organization which dates back to 1807, and still continues, the proud custodian of what is, to them, an almost sacred flag. The Washington Light Infantry took part in the Mexican War in 1846, and in the first World War in 1918. It erected a marble tablet in 1929 over the graves of Colonel Washington and his wife in the old cemetery of the Elliott family near Rantowles, South Carolina.⁴

But, apart from these well-known incidents, a brief biography of the man indicates the value, the courage, the ability and the

2. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 436, footnote 1; citing Ellet's "Women of the Revolution."

3. Same; volume 2, page 458.

4. See pamphlet History of Washington Light Infantry of Charleston, S. C., 1807-1929; published some time prior to 1934. (In "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, supra.) See also *National Geographic Magazine*, "Our Flag Number," October, 1917; page 352.

loyalty of this cousin of General Washington, in the great War for our Independence. He was born in 1752, a Virginian, son of Baily Washington, of Stafford County, and was early educated for the ministry. The war began, however, and he became a captain in the Third Virginia Infantry of General Hugh Mercer's brigade. He was wounded in the battle of Brooklyn, and distinguished himself at Trenton, where he and his lieutenant, James Monroe (later president of the United States), were both injured in the capture of a Hessian battery on King Street.⁵ In 1778 he was transferred to Colonel Baylor's regiment of dragoons, and was ordered south in 1779 to join the army of General Lincoln. In March, 1780, he defeated Tarleton in South Carolina. A few weeks later he clashed with him again, but not so successfully. At Cowpens, however, March 17, 1781, under General Morgan, he made a charge at a critical moment, timed with a sudden advance of the Continental Line under Colonel Howard, which nearly annihilated Tarleton's force, thus winning for himself a medal from Congress. He was in the battle of Guilford Courthouse; then, later, at Hobkirk's Hill, where he fought with great energy and distinction.⁶

Just why his flag should now be called the Eutaw Flag it is very difficult to say, for it was in the battle of Eutaw Springs, South Carolina, in September, 1781, that Colonel Washington, finding the American left wing in danger, toward the close of the action, attempted the impossible, and while forcing his way through a thicket of trees was wounded and captured with some forty of his men.⁷

In 1782 Colonel Washington was married to Miss Elliott, and settled in Charleston. Later he was elected to the South Carolina legislature, and was even solicited to become a candidate for governor, but declined the honor because he insisted that *he could not make a speech*. When President Adams appointed General Washington commander-in-chief of the American army, as war threatened with France in 1798, he chose Colonel Washington to be one of his staff, with the rank of brigadier-general. William Washington died in 1810.⁸

5. "The Battles of Trenton and Princeton," by William S. Stryker; 1898; page 194.

6. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 435.

7. "Battles of the American Revolution," by Colonel Henry B. Carrington, U.S.A.; 1876; page 581.

8. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 435, note 1.

Guilford or North Carolina Militia Flag

(SEE COLOR PLATE 6)

THIS, probably, was the flag, or one of the flags, of the North Carolina militia during their most dangerously active service, in 1780 and 1781. These new, ill-equipped companies, recruited chiefly from the State-organized battalions called "Minute Men,"¹ were desperately needed when the British marched up from Florida to join the regiments of Clinton, brought in ships from New York, for the conquest of the South. By that time North Carolina had fairly exhausted itself in supplying brave soldiers, both regulars and militia, to support the cause of the Colonies.

The North Carolina regulars of the Continental Line have their own faithful story, from the training camp in 1776 at Wilmington, North Carolina, of their first 4000,² on to the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, to Valley Forge, Monmouth and Stony Point, with one of their generals, Francis Nash, mortally wounded in action, buried in the small, beautiful cemetery on a hillside, at Kulpsville, in Pennsylvania, twenty-six miles from Philadelphia.

North Carolina lost all that remained of these Continental regiments which fought under Washington, and nearly all of its trained militia when General Lincoln³ surrendered at Charleston

1. "Historical Sketches of North Carolina," by John H. Wheeler; 1851; volume 1, page 72. Also "North Carolina, 1780-'81," by David Schenck; 1889; pages 22-23.
2. "North Carolina, 1780-'81," by David Schenck; 1889; page 27.
3. A major-general appointed by Congress, in 1777, from Massachusetts, where he had been in command of the militia, and had rendered valuable service in recruiting and training regiments for the Continental Army. After recovering from wounds received at Saratoga he was appointed in charge of the meagre Southern army (partly made up of regulars and militia from more Northern states) hurriedly assembled to resist the upsurging of British forces through the South, becoming more and more violently cruel and destructive after their failure to win in the North. He arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, in December, 1778, cooperated with D'Estaing in the attack on Savannah in October, 1779, but in May, 1780, finding himself besieged in Charleston by much superior numbers, was obliged to surrender.

in May, 1780.⁴ It is almost unbelievable that so small a state could have reestablished its armed forces thereafter in time to join the armies of Gates and Greene of later 1780, and 1781, rendering invaluable aid, during that period, at King's Mountain, Camden, Cowpens, Guilford, Eutaw Springs, and other less known engagements in the Carolinas.

The North Carolina militia (without bayonets) may or may not have retreated or fled or hurried away prematurely at Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781: authorities differ. General Greene, who reported adversely on them in this battle, did not actually see what happened in their forward position, being himself, very properly of course, with his main line of regulars, 800 yards back.⁵ But it cannot be denied or disproved that the Whig volunteers and Minute Men of North Carolina, from 1775 to 1782, under their devoted leaders, Shelby, Dixon, Davie, Sumner, Rutherford, and others, fought with ability and great courage, as well as with long self-sacrifice, for the cause of our liberties. These names, like so many others in American history, which, for exceptional achievement, should not die, are still too sadly forgotten. Any flag which was borne by the North Carolina militia in the American Revolution is an honored flag, and should be carried in replica today, to perpetuate in memory the silent, gallant names of those who dared to fight beneath it.

The more an American learns about the battle of King's Mountain, October 10, 1780, which stopped the left column of Cornwallis' army in its threatened move through the border mountains toward the Tennessee country, the more he feels the strange fatalism that ruled at certain crises in the story of our nation. Here was a battle, fought largely by North Carolina militia, under Cleaveland, Shelby, Sevier, Winston,⁶ that was not really planned except at the last moment, like the battle of Trenton, both of which battles, small as were the numbers engaged, were epoch-making, and in a world-sense as important as many of the battles of history

4. "North Carolina, 1780-'81," by David Schenck; 1889; pages 41, 42.

5. At the successful battle of Cowpens, January 15, 1781, the Americans were also in three lines, but the total depth of their formation was only 300 yards, whereas the total depth at Guilford, March 15, was over 800 yards. At Cowpens, Morgan remained with his front line (militia) until nearly the last moment exhorting them to fire their two volleys before retiring, which they did. ("North Carolina, 1780-'81," by David Schenck; 1889; page 328; also "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by B. J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 34.)

6. "North Carolina, 1780-'81," by David Schenck; 1889; pages 155-175. Also "Historical Sketches of North Carolina," by John H. Wheeler; 1851; volume 2, pages 104-105.

wherein great armies struggled against each other. Lodge says⁷ that King's Mountain alone saved the South after the defeat of the Maryland and Delaware regulars and North Carolina and Virginia militia, under Gates⁸ at Camden, South Carolina, on August 16, 1780. And if the South had been lost then, perhaps a great cause would have gone with it.

After his defeat at Camden, which took place shortly after dawn, Gates retired precipitately from the field. He reached Charlotte, sixty miles away, before midnight on the day of the battle, riding a blooded horse to accomplish his speedy purpose.⁹ "No place of rendezvous had been appointed by Gates, no order was given by him after the battle began, and every soldier who fled followed his own judgment and instinct of safety."¹⁰

The fearless self-reliance of one of the commanders of the North Carolina militia, as compared with this defeatist attitude of the much-overestimated General Gates, is shown by an incident which occurred about ten miles out of Camden on the very morning of the battle. Major William Richardson Davie, having won his brave exploit against a force of British regulars and loyalists at Hanging Rock, North Carolina, was marching to join Gates (not aware of his defeat), after leaving his own wounded in a hospital which his foresight had provided at Charlotte. He met an American soldier who was riding at full speed. He arrested him as a deserter, but learned from him of the British triumph at Camden. This news was soon confirmed by the appearance of General Gates himself, in full flight. Gates desired Davie to fall back on Charlotte, "or the

7. "The Story of the Revolution," by Henry Cabot Lodge; 1898; volume 2, page 54.

8. General Horatio Gates had served in the British army as an officer under Braddock in 1755, and later in the Seven Years' War in Europe. In 1763 he bought an estate in Virginia. In June, 1775, Congress appointed him Adjutant-General of the Continental Army. In the following year he was commissioned Major-General, and in 1777 commanded at the battle of Saratoga, although the victory was really due to the independent efforts of Schuyler, Arnold, Morgan and others, unguided by Gates at all. A trained soldier when it came to discipline and organization, he rendered good service to his adopted country, but displayed neither leadership nor strategy in battle. Nevertheless he and a strong following in Congress were constantly plotting to make him commander-in-chief in place of Washington; and Congress it was, without consulting Washington, that appointed Gates to command in the South in 1780. (See "Eminent Americans," by Benson J. Lossing; 1881; page 295.)

9. "North Carolina, 1780-81," by David Schenck; 1889; page 95; citing "Moore's Diary of the Revolution"; Volume 2, page 312.

10. The battle of Guilford Courthouse, in March, 1781, while not an American victory, nevertheless definitely reduced the strength of Cornwallis, and, unlike the battle of Camden, was followed by a well-managed retreat, directed personally by General Greene himself. (See "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by B. J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 469; also "North Carolina, 1780-81," by David Schenck; 1889; page 95.)

dragoons would soon be on him." Davie replied that his men "were accustomed to Tarleton and did not fear him." Gates did not argue, but hurried on.¹¹

By September 10 about a thousand remnants of the Continental Line had gathered at Hillsboro, and were being reorganized. Several hundred of the militia who had been in the battle had formed a camp under General Jethro Sumner, of North Carolina,¹² about eight miles south of Charlotte, with some recruits coming in from the neighboring counties. On October 1, 1780, Colonel Charles McDowell, also of North Carolina, was sent to Hillsboro, about 150 miles distant, by the forces which had assembled for the attack on King's Mountain, to ask General Gates for a general officer to command their expedition. Gates ignored the request, and Colonel William Campbell of Virginia was chosen to lead the fight, by those on the field, because of his known ability and because he had come the farthest. Gates sent no regulars nor militia, from those under his command, to assist at King's Mountain; never in any way recognizing the serious importance of that battle.¹³

And now, what do we know of the origin and authenticity of this strange so-called Guilford Flag? William P. Brandon, Superintendent of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, in a letter dated February 10, 1941, goes exhaustively into the subject, from his own researches, telling probably all that there is to be known.¹⁴ He quotes, also, from "The Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons, 121st Annual Communication," pages 124 to 126, published in 1909, recording the presentation of the flag to the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, on January 15, 1909. Some of the remarks at the presentation are quoted as follows:

11. "Of General Huger, who then rode up, Major Davie asked how far the directions of Gates ought to be obeyed, who answered, 'Just as far as you please, for you will never see him again.' Davie then sent a messenger who overtook General Gates, to say that if he wished, he would return and bury his dead. The answer of Gates was, 'I say, retreat. Let the dead bury their dead'." Both Wheeler in "Historical Sketches of North Carolina"; 1851; volume 2, page 194; and Schenck in "North Carolina, 1780-'81"; 1889; page 74; say that this account is taken nearly verbatim "from the manuscript left by Mr. Davie."
12. Jethro Sumner served with Washington in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and survived as one of 700 of a brigade of 5000 from his State in the Continental Army; was made brigadier-general in 1779, and in 1780-81 was detached to raise four new regiments of regulars in North Carolina; was called by some "the hero of Eutaw Springs," because of the great success of the North Carolina militia under his command in that battle. (See "North Carolina, 1780-'81," by David Schenck; 1889; page 470).
13. "North Carolina, 1780-'81," by David Schenck; 1889; pages 100, 141.
14. In "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, *supra*.

"This flag is presented by . . . the two eldest male descendants of Micajah Bullock, who brought it home from the battlefields of North and South Carolina about the close of the War of the Revolution. . . . This flag was brought home by our ancestor, and the family tradition says was carefully preserved in his home until the dedication of the lodge at Mt. Energy in April, 1854. At this Masonic festival his son, Major Edward Bullock, then eighty-one years old, carried this flag in the Masonic procession and left it at the lodge. Here it was carefully preserved with other Masonic paraphernalia."

In 1914 it was presented by the Grand Lodge to the North Carolina Historical Commission, and is now preserved in the Hall of History at Raleigh, North Carolina.

Miss Mattie Erma Edwards,¹⁵ then Collector for the Hall of History, in a letter dated February 13, 1941,¹⁶ gives a minute description and sketch of the flag, in its present condition, with one of the thirteen stripes partly missing. Miss Edwards intimates that there may have been once as many as sixteen stripes, several having been added in later years, rather crudely, and for no apparent reason, since no attempt was made to increase the number of stars.

In conclusion it should be said, perhaps, that R. C. Ballard Thruston, in his fine essay on "The Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag," accepts this flag as authentic.¹⁷

FLAG DESCRIPTION. Eight and one-half feet long by three feet three and one-half inches wide. 7 blue and 6 red stripes. Canton: white, six and one-half feet by two feet one inch; with 13 blue 8-pointed stars averaging 8 inches in diameter, and arranged 5-3-5. The flag is hand-sewn on heavy cotton material; faded, stretched, and with several small tears.

15. Now Mrs. John M. Parker.

16. Also in "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, *supra*.

17. Page 11. Published in 1926 by U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Flag of the United Train of Artillery of Providence

(SEE COLOR PLATE 6)

THE strangest in appearance of all the well-authenticated Revolutionary War flags which have been preserved to us is, probably, that of The United Train of Artillery of Providence. It is still to be seen in the Museum of the Rhode Island Historical Society. The flag, which is painted on silk, has no canton, the design being charged on the field. "The field of the flag is yellow, the snake yellow and blue, the stars blue,¹ the cannon gold with black mounting, the scroll under the snake is pink with gold lettering and the scroll on the cannon light blue with gold lettering. The scrolls and stars are outlined in blue."²

"In April, 1775, the Providence Fusileers united with the Providence Train of Artillery under the legal title of 'The United Company of the Train of Artillery,' but generally spoken of as 'The United Train of Artillery.' It did home guard and defense work. . . ."³

Stone says, however, that this company, with four field pieces and twelve siege guns, joined the American army, encamped at Roxbury, near Boston, in 1775. He says also that: "In 1778 Rhode Island had five regiments in the field, and in addition to these there were eleven independent chartered companies; among them the Kentish Guards, the Kingston Reds, the Pawtuxet Rangers, and

1. A critical examination of this flag, made in 1943 through the courtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society, under a strong searchlight, in order to penetrate the glass plates in which it is sealed, disclosed that the thirteen stars are *pasted* on the flag. Looking at the flag as it is in our picture, there is a small inscription on the right hand fluke of the anchor as follows: PAINTED by JOHN R. PENNIMAN BOSTON.
2. "Early Rhode Island Flags," by Howard M. Chapin; 1925; pages 9, 10, 13; with an engraving of the flag.
3. Letter of Howard M. Chapin, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, October 2, 1939; in "Flag Book Sources" (see Preface, supra).

the Providence companies of Cadets, Artillery and Infantry, ready as minute men for any service required."⁴

The United Train of Artillery of Providence was always a militia battery, but when it is remembered that "the English forces reached Warren, only eight miles from Providence,"⁵ and that armies of Britain and France were on Rhode Island soil at various times between 1776 and 1782, their fleets hovering and maneuvering also in Rhode Island waters during the same period, this artillery company, even if it had remained in Providence, was practically at the battle-front for several years. It belongs, therefore, to Revolutionary War history, as an active military flag, and appears to have been carried as early as 1776.⁶

4. "Our French Allies," by Edwin Martin Stone; 1884; page 9.

5. See the above-mentioned letter of Howard M. Chapin, October 2, 1939, citing Edward Field's "State of Rhode Island," volume 1, page 487.

6. "Early Rhode Island Flags," by Howard M. Chapin; 1925; foot of page 9.

White Plains Flag

(SEE COLOR PLATE 6)

AN ACCOUNT in German of the Hessian participation in the American War, 1776-1783,¹ relates the following incident as having occurred, apparently near Flatbush, August 26-27, 1776, during the battle of Long Island, when the American left wing was fading away, and General Sullivan was captured: "As there was an open view, they saw a troop of Americans, about fifty men, hastening toward them, with flying colors. An under-officer leaping forward took away the colors. He was just going to present them to Colonel Rall, when General von Mirbach arrived, and was about snatching the colors from the officer's hand, when Rall said in a tone of vexation, 'By no means, General, my grenadiers have taken these colors, they shall keep them, and I shall not permit any one to take them away.' " But as Dr. Alfred Hopkins, of the Museum Division of the National Park Service, points out, there was no General von Mirbach with the Hessian forces at this time, although there was a von Mirbach brigade.² Perhaps General von Heister is intended, who was in command of the Hessian center.³ Later in the account we are told: "The captured flag, which is made of red damask, with the motto, 'Liberty,' appeared with sixty men before Rall's regiment. They had all shouldered their guns upside down, and had their hats under their arms. They fell on their knees and begged piteously for their lives."⁴ The Hessian

1. "Die Deutschen Hulfstruppen im Nordamerikanische Befreiungskriege, 1776 bis 1783," von Max Von Eelking. Translated in "Memoirs of Long Island Historical Society," volume II, pages 431 to 438.
2. Letter of February 18, 1941 (in "Flag Book Sources," see Preface, supra). Dr. Hopkins made researches as to some of the old flags while he held the important post of curator at the Morristown National Historical Park, in New Jersey.
3. "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," by Benson J. Lossing; 1860; volume 2, page 600.
4. Statement by Colonel von Heeringen, who commanded a regiment in the battle; quoted in "The Hessians and other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War," by Edward J. Lowell; 1884; p. 65.

officers wrote most contemptuously of the Americans who opposed them at the battle of Long Island and throughout the remainder of the campaign which ended with the Hessian victory at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776, when "the garrison marched out between the regiments Rall and Lossberg, laid down their arms, and gave up their banners, which were yellow, white and light blue." Knyphausen is said to have looked on these banners "with disdain."⁵ But as Lowell reminds us, in his book on the German auxiliaries of Great Britain in America, "within six weeks the colors of the regiments Rall and Lossberg were in the hands of Washington's army." We do not know which organizations the flags thus taken at Fort Washington represented; nor what became of them. We are told also of Colonel Magaw's "battered old rattle-snake banner that had been dyed a violent purple," and which he "was inordinately proud of." This must also have gone to the enemy.

Preble states, however, as to the incident which the Hessian writers have described as occurring at the battle of Long Island: "I have an undated engraving of what purports to be the battle of White Plains, but which seems to represent the scene above described, the Americans carrying a flag of which the annexed is a fac-simile."⁶ Preble's illustration of this flag is the one shown at the beginning of this chapter. The title which he placed under it was as follows: "American Flag, from an Old Engraving of the Battle of White Plains, October 28, 1776." Below the motto, Liberty or Death (letter *a* reversed in the word Death), there is a staff with a liberty cap over one end, crossed by a drawn sword.

The same flag is also shown in the *National Geographic Magazine*, September, 1934, page 371 (flag No. 283), where it is called "White Plains" flag, with the following statement (page 369): "American troops surrendered this flag to Hessian troops at the battle of Long Island, August 26, 1776."

5. Same; page 83.

6. "Our Flag; Origin and Progress of the Flag of the United States of America," by Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U.S.N.; 1872; page 177.

Franklin Flag (So-Called)

(SEE COLOR PLATE 7)

THIS so-called Franklin Flag is one of several attempted reproductions¹ of the flag sketched in the records of the shipping office at the harbor of the Texel in Holland, when John Paul Jones went there in 1779 to recover from his great fight with the British warship *Serapis*. The flag shown in colors on Color Plate 7 does not follow closely the sketch or drawing in the Dutch records, with its eight-pointed stars and the irregular arrangement of the blue, red and white stripes, for it is obvious that such drawings, especially of new, unheard-of ensigns, flying from the sterns of strange warships, cannot be depended on absolutely.

We might doubt even the *blue* stripes on the Texel flag, were it not for a letter dated October 9, 1778, signed by Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, and sent from Paris to the Ambassador of the King of the Two Sicilies.² This letter is in part as follows:

“Passy, Oct. 9, 1778.

“It is with pleasure that we acquaint Your Excellency that the flag of the United States of America consists of 13 stripes, alternately red, white, and blue; a small square in the upper angle, next the flag staff, is a blue field, with 13 white stars, denoting a new Constellation.

“Some of the States have vessels of war distinct from those of the United States. For example, the vessels of war of the State of Massachusetts Bay have sometimes a pine tree; and those of South Carolina a rattlesnake, in the middle of the 13 stripes; but the Flag of the United States, ordained by Congress, is the 13 stripes and 13 stars above described.

“B. FRANKLIN”

“JOHN ADAMS.”

1. For instance, the Color Guard of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York has adopted as its particular reproduction a flag of 13 stripes and a blue canton with 13 white 5-pointed stars arranged in the familiar 3, 2, 3, 2, 3 order. The 13 stripes are: red, blue, white; red, blue, white; red, blue white; red, blue, white; red. The canton covers five stripes. (See original letters, copies, etc., in “Flag Book Sources,” referred to in Preface, *supra*.)
2. “Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution,” edited by Jared Sparks; 1829; volume 1, page 469.



FRANKLIN FLAG
(so-called)



NAVAL PRIVATEER FLAG



SCHUYLER FLAG
OF OLD CONGRESS HALL



FLAG OF
HANOVER ASSOCIATORS



FLAG OF
PROCTOR'S INDEPENDENT BATTALION



FLAG OF
WEBB'S CONNECTICUT REGIMENT

Evidently neither Franklin nor John Adams had received a true copy of the flag resolution or "resolve" of Congress, adopted on June 14, 1777, which described the new stars and stripes. Jones sailed from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on November 1, 1777. If he knew about the flag resolution at all it must have been, almost certainly, from hearsay only, and not from print or writing.

Commander (now Captain) Byron McCandless, U.S.N., an authority on flags not only of America but of the World,³ learned of or discovered an original entry, including a sketch or drawing, in the records of the shipping office of the port of the Texel in The Netherlands, which, translated, read partly as follows: "North American Flag, Van d'SERAPIS, and captured English war frigate, now in command of the North American Commander Paul Jones, arrived at Texel, October 5, 1779." Captain McCandless told of all this in a letter dated February 2, 1921, addressed to the late Major Henry Russell Drowne, who was an active and prominent member of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York. The McCandless letter relates some of the circumstances surrounding this incident, thus:

"John Paul Jones went into the Texel with his squadron which had been outfitted entirely at the expense of the French King, except the *Alliance*, which was strictly American. The *Alliance* had been on the point of sailing with John Adams for home when the Minister of Marine for Louis XVI asked Franklin to have her joined to Jones' squadron, which was done. As soon as Jones arrived in the Texel the Dutch officials were in hot water. Sir Joseph Yorke demanded that Jones be turned over to the British and the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough be delivered." "Previous to the Serapis affair Jones had had the *Ranger* and had scared up England pretty well and captured the *Drake* and many prizes."

A flag strictly following the sketch in the shipping records of Texel would make a very odd-looking, rather impossible, flag. There would be, for instance, thirteen *eight*-pointed stars, in a canton covering only *three* of the stripes in the field of the flag. Then, examining the field of the flag, we find that there are only *twelve* stripes, and that they are irregularly colored, as follows: blue, red, white, red, white, blue, red, white, blue, red, white, blue.

Captain McCandless stated that the sketch of the flag on the *Alliance* was practically the flag of the thirteen stars with white

3. See "Our Flag Number," *National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1917, by Byron McCandless and Gilbert Grosvenor ("with 1197 flags in full colors and 300 additional illustrations in black and white").

and red stripes; and the stars eight-pointed. "As the *Alliance* had brought Lafayette over early in the year (1779) and had been on the point of returning to America, it can be assumed that the flag she bore was the U. S. practice, while the other was Jones' variation on the Flag Resolve of Congress of June 14, 1777."

We have seen that these were thus two different designs of early stars and stripes flags on John Paul Jones' ships in the Texel. But there was still a third, claimed to have been the ensign of the *Bon Homme Richard*, rescued when she sank after the surrender of the *Serapis*. This flag is still preserved in the National Museum at Washington, D. C. It is made of English bunting, three and one-half yards long and two feet five inches wide; it has a field of thirteen stripes alternately red and white; and a blue canton with *twelve* white stars arranged in four parallel rows of three stars each.

A young man named James Bayard Stafford was among the prisoners released when Jones, ten days before his battle with the *Serapis*, captured a British man-of-war and her prize, an American armed ship. Stafford enthusiastically joined the crew of the *Richard*. In fact he was appointed an officer on the *Richard*, and when her flag was shot away during the fight he jumped into the sea and recovered it,⁴ being severely wounded in so doing, although he continued to serve in our Navy until the end of the War.

As the *Richard* was sinking with her stars and stripes flying⁵ (as Jones had intended she should), someone may have seized the flag and finally transferred it to the *Alliance*, which was sold, after the War (flag and all, apparently), to Robert Morris for the East India trade. In 1784, Congress, on motion of the Marine Committee, gave the flag to Stafford, for his "meritorious services through the late war." It remained in the Stafford family until 1898, when it was presented to the nation.

The probable presence and use, in 1779, of these three different designs or types of stars and stripes, by Jones' small fleet of four or five vessels, constitutes a real mystery or coincidence, and one which, in all likelihood, will never be explained.

4. New England Historical and Genealogical Register; 1874; volume 28, page 17; paper by (then) Captain George Henry Preble, U.S.N.

5. "The National Flag," by Willis Fletcher Johnson; 1930; page 67.

Naval Privateer Flag

(SEE COLOR PLATE 7)

“THIS flag of thirteen alternate yellow and black stripes—sometimes varied by thirteen yellow and white stripes—was used, according to Preble in his ‘History of the United States Flag,’ by Continental as well as by American privateer vessels. It was also often, probably, a decoy which has been used by some of the Continental cruisers in foreign ports. In September, 1776, the Continental brig *Reprisal*, 16 guns, commanded by Captain Lambert Wickes, while lying at Martinique, W. I., bore a flag of thirteen stripes, whose field was yellow and white.”

(From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; see Preface, *supra*.)

Schuyler Flag of Old Congress Hall, Philadelphia

(SEE COLOR PLATE 7)

THE original of this so-called Schuyler Flag has been on exhibition since 1922 in a frame hanging in venerable Congress Hall, adjoining Independence Hall, in Philadelphia.¹ To all appearances it is a very old flag and might well belong to the American Revolutionary War period. It has been partly restored or remounted and is in a good state of preservation. In design it is somewhat similar to the Grand Union flag, except that it has *seven white* and six red stripes and a bluish canton on which is painted a fair representation of the great seal of the United States, as it was adopted by Congress in 1782, with the eagle, the arrows, olive branch, etc., and the thirteen stars. The fringe is of heavy red silk.

A printed card beneath the flag says: "Regimental Flag. Presented to General Philip John Schuyler (N. Y.) and carried by troops under his command during the latter part of the Revolutionary War. Presented to the National Museum by his great, great, great granddaughters, Miss Elizabeth Schuyler, Mrs. Anna Schuyler Killie." Obviously, a part of this statement cannot be true. General Schuyler did not have troops under him "during the latter part of the Revolutionary War," nor in fact after August, 1777, when he was superseded by General Gates in command of the Northern Army. Then again, the canton of the flag could not, seemingly, have originated prior to 1782, as the earlier designs for the seal of the United States, reported in 1776 and 1779, did not show the eagle, etc.² But the flag itself undoubtedly descended

1. Article in *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia; November 22, 1922.

2. "The Seal of the United States," by Gaillard Hunt; 1892; page 16.

in the Schuyler family,³ and it can be reasonably assumed, therefore, that it had some fond or reminiscent value to General Schuyler, being perhaps a presentation flag from some of his old supporters and comrades in arms.⁴ As such, until evidence shall appear to the contrary, we can accept and cherish the flag for its probable association with one of the most able and valuable leaders of the cause of the Colonies during the entire formative period of the nation, from the days of the "Old French War" until after the adoption of the Constitution. Unfairly treated by the Continental Congress in 1777, he still carried on with unswerving loyalty, devoting his fortune, his energies, his talents, without stint, to the upbuilding of the new United States.

3. This is manifest not only from the declarations of the donors of the flag in 1922, but from other traditions in the family vouched for by Herbert S. Killie, Esq., a member of the bar and a prominent citizen of Mount Holly, N. J., nephew of Mrs. Anna Schuyler Killie. Mr. Killie also says that "Miss Elizabeth Schuyler," mentioned on the printed card beneath the flag, was usually called Josephine E. Schuyler.
4. There is no mention of such an incident in the Schuyler biographies of Baynard Tuckerman, Benson J. Lossing, or George W. Schuyler; but that, of course, is not necessarily significant.

Flag of Hanover Associators

(SEE COLOR PLATE 7)

“THIS is a crimson flag, bearing as a device a rifleman in green hunting shirt and buckskin leggings, standing on guard, with the motto, ‘Liberty or Death’ underneath on a yellow scroll. The Hanover Associators (or Volunteers) originated at a meeting on June 4, 1774, of the inhabitants of Hanover, Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania. Resolutions were there adopted, ‘That in the event of Great Britain attempting to force unjust laws upon us by the strength of arms, our cause we leave to Heaven and our rifles.’ The flag of the Hanover Riflemen was also adopted by the committee at the same time.”

(From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; see Preface, *supra*.)

Davis says, in his “Regimental Colors of the War of the Revolution,” 1907, page 15: “As far as I have been able to ascertain, this flag no longer exists, but it is represented in colors in Volume XIII (Second Series), Pennsylvania Archives. The authority for this print, I do not know.”

The flag, as its name implies, was an Associator flag. Our chapter on the Flag of Proctor’s Independent Battalion, which follows this chapter, gives the origin and a brief history of the Associator organizations which constituted the only armed force of Pennsylvania from 1748 to 1775.

Flag of Proctor's Independent Battalion, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania

(SEE COLOR PLATE 7)

“THIS flag was of crimson silk with the British Union in the upper right-hand corner, and is of the greatest interest because it is an old English ensign altered for use by American patriots. In the centre of the field is a rattlesnake coiled, with head erect, in the attitude of striking, and under it the motto so frequently used—‘Don’t tread on me.’ The letters above (‘J.P.’ and ‘I.B.W.C.P.’) indicate Colonel John Proctor’s ‘Independent Battalion, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania.’ The flag was used by Colonel Proctor’s regiment throughout the war and was carried at Trenton, Princeton and in other battles. On Colonel Proctor’s death it passed to the next senior officer, and so on to the last survivor with whose family it remained.”

(From former flag books of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; see Preface, *supra*.)

On a list of the fifty-three battalions of Associators existing in 1775, we find that the 52nd battalion was from Westmoreland County and was commanded by John Proctor.¹

These Associator battalions were an institution peculiar to Pennsylvania. While the Charter of the Province, granted to William Penn by Charles II in 1682, gave Penn the power to muster, levy and train troops, his laws contain no mention of military training. In 1704, during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), Lieutenant-Governor Evans tried to have military laws en-

1. “Official History of the Militia and the National Guard of the State of Pennsylvania,” by Major William P. Clarke; 1909; volume 1, page 88.

acted, but did not succeed. In 1746, during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), Governor Thomas made a similar unsuccessful attempt, although Spanish privateers had actually fired shot into New Castle (then situated in one of the "three lower counties of Pennsylvania.")

In 1747, however, Benjamin Franklin, encouraged by the Provincial Council, formed a voluntary association for military purposes throughout the Province. The companies and battalions thus organized were called Associators, and in 1748 numbered several thousand: horse, foot and artillery. In 1757, during the Seven Years' War, 1756-1763 (known in America as the French and Indian War), the Assembly passed a militia law which remained in effect until 1775, although little was done by the Provincial Government to carry out its provisions. But the Associators carried on, three of their Philadelphia battalions forming part of General Cadwalader's division as late as the battle of Trenton, in December, 1776. The battalions of Associators existing in 1775 filled the first quota of troops called for by Congress late that year. They numbered 4300 and were to serve until January 1, 1777. Early in 1777 recruiting began for the Continental Line, which was enlisted for "three years or the war."²

The Associators had silk flags which bore mottoes (usually in Latin) and strange, sometimes really beautiful, devices. Many of these flags were prepared by the women of the various communities. Descriptive lists are given in the *Pennsylvania Gazettes* of January 12 and April 16, 1748, but without mention of the companies or regiments which carried them. Here are three of these descriptions:

"A Lion erect, a naked Scymeter in one Paw, the other holding the Pennsylvania Scutcheon. Motto, Pro Patria."

"A City walled round. Motto, Salus Patriae, Summa Lex."

"Hope, represented by a Woman standing clothed in blue, holding one Hand on an Anchor. Motto, Spero per Deum vincere."

We have examples of such flags in the Hanover Associators and the First Pennsylvania Regiment flags. The flag of the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry, may also have had an Associator origin.³

2. Clarke's "History," cited in Note 1, above. Also, "History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," by William Henry Egle, M.D.; 1877. Also "Major-General Anthony Wayne," by Charles J. Stille; 1893.

3. See chapters on these three flags, in this book; supra.

Flag of Webb's Connecticut Regiment Continental Line

(SEE COLOR PLATE 7)

TRULY artistic in its strange design, with a sword and wreath upon it, this flag was selected from many others for presentation, beautifully colored, by both Gherardi Davis in his flag-book and E. M. Avery in his fine, many-volumed history.¹ They accept the flag as belonging to Colonel Samuel B. Webb's Third Connecticut Regiment, but neither of them gives any evidence, direct or inferential, for his conclusion. The flag is almost certainly, nevertheless, a Revolutionary War regimental or battalion flag, and is, therefore, reasonably, to be included here.

The print shown on our Color Plate 7 is a careful copy of the original flag, preserved now between two glass plates in the headquarters of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, at Philadelphia. The flag itself is of yellow silk, painted; and is 34½ inches long by 28 inches wide. The sword is grayish silver. The wreath is mostly of bluish-green leaves, although some are yellowish; and they are overlapping. The bow of ribbon is cherry-red, and the Roman numeral, grayish black. Considerably faded now, it still makes an attractive picture.

The *National Geographic Magazine* Flag Number, of October, 1917, states that "This little flag belonged to the troops under Colonel Webb, undoubtedly the Third Connecticut Regiment." The September, 1934, flag article in this same magazine, substituted "probably" for "undoubtedly." In his well-known flag-book,

1. Colored pictures of this flag are to be found in: "Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution," by Gherardi Davis; 1907; "A History of the United States and Its People," by E. M. Avery; 1909; volume 6, page 240; and *National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1917, page 339; and same magazine, September, 1934, page 370.

previously referred to, Davis shows two original flags which he says were presented to the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution "by Mr. Francis Parsons Webb (a descendant of Colonel Samuel B. Webb) through Mr. Oliver Hough, as having belonged to the Third Connecticut Regiment of which Colonel Webb, after he was exchanged, became Colonel." Davis says that "One or both of these flags must have belonged to the Third Connecticut Regiment." He also states that the larger one (not shown on any of our Color Plates) was probably a regimental color, not the Light Infantry standard which the Adjutant-General of the Army, Edward Hand, on September 6, 1782, sent to Colonel Webb from Verplanck's Point.² This larger one is now half destroyed, and so curious and complicated in design, that it is impossible to tell what it may have looked like, nor to what command it may have belonged; and no clue nor explanation of any kind has been forthcoming as yet. Not even the motto on this flag fragment can be read. What is left of it is still preserved, between two glass plates, in the headquarters of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, at Philadelphia.

The smaller flag referred to (shown on our Color Plate 7), Davis thinks, is a guidon of some kind. With a figure "I" upon it, and having a yellow field, he suggests that it may at one time have belonged to the First Connecticut Regiment, whose colors, as fixed by the Connecticut Assembly in 1776, were to be yellow. In the "Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blatchley Webb,"³ however, it is stated that this Third Regiment was made up of the Ninth (Webb's old regiment) and the Second Regiments.

Colonel Webb served on the staff of General Putnam in 1775 and on that of General Washington in 1776, later organizing, almost entirely at his own expense, the Third Connecticut Regiment of the Continental Line, which he commanded in 1777. He was wounded at Bunker Hill and at Trenton, and was taken prisoner on an expedition to Long Island in December, 1777. Shortly after his exchange in 1780 he took command of the Light Infantry of the Army, being given later the brevet rank of Brigadier-General.⁴

2. "Reminiscences of General Samuel B. Webb," by his son, J. Watson Webb; New York, 1882; volume 2, page 416.
3. In three volumes; collected and edited by Worthington C. Ford, 1893-1894; volume 3, page 367.
4. Appleton's "Cyclopedia of American Biography," volume 6, page 402. See also "The Battles of Trenton and Princeton," by William S. Stryker; 1898; page 140.

PART II

FRENCH FLAGS

of the Period of The French Alliance, 1778-1783

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Royal Flags of Louis XVI of France, 1778-1783

THE unprecedented splendor of the royal Bourbon flags of France, especially of Louis XIV, is shown by Desjardins in his great work on the French flags: The superb white standard blazoned with the arms of the Maison de France, two angels supporting the shield and crown amid numerous fleurs-de-lis; the great swallow-shaped standard of three broad stripes, red and white, charged with the blue shield and three fleurs-de-lis; and the almost sacred blue heraldic flag derived with its three fleurs-de-lis from the arms of the Valois, still clinging, loyal to the monarchy, until the fatal year of 1789. Much of this splendor of the Sun King may have departed later, although it would appear that under Louis XVI there may have been at least two royal flags, the square blue ancient banner and (perhaps) a pennon, the famed cornette blanche, a thing of beauty in itself, with its fleurs-de-lis, sometimes many in number, sometimes only three, gilding a field of shining white.¹ But, says Desjardins, these flags were never carried except in the presence of the king or his household,² and we must therefore probably dismiss the thought that one or more of them were paraded in America, during our Revolution.³

1. Desjardins, "Les Drapeaux Francais," page 51, speaks of the disappearance of the cornette blanche before the fall of the Bourbons, but does not fix the date, and therefore it may have been used, in France, during all or part of the period, 1778-1783, along with the square blue banner or standard.
2. Desjardins gives us a hint, however, in a footnote, page 51, that sometimes the cornette blanche was carried in the field for the king's "lieutenant, the chief of the army."
3. For his patient, thorough assistance, most courteously rendered, especially with regard to the royal flags of the Bourbons, the flag of the French Navy, and the colonels' flags of the French regiments, much more than a word of appreciation is due Howard M. Chapin, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, himself a distinguished writer on our colonial and Revolutionary War flags. Mr. Chapin had access to a copy of "Les Drapeaux Francais" in the library of William Davis Miller. He was also able to obtain the latest French information on some of the difficult questions involved, by correspondence with Ernest Harot, architect-in-chief of the historic monuments of France: an authority, besides, on heraldry and flags.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th Edition, volume 10, page 460) states that "the oriflamme and the Chape de St. Martin were succeeded at the end of the 16th century, when Henry III, the last of the house of Valois, came to the throne, by the white standard powdered with fleurs-de-lis. This in turn gave place to the famous tri-colour . . . introduced at the time of the Revolution."

On page 499 of the same volume of this Encyclopaedia it is said, however, that "In February, 1376, Charles V of France reduced the number of fleurs-de-lis to three—in honor of the Trinity—and the kings of France thereafter bore *d'azur, a trois fleurs-de-lis d'or*."

E. Saillens, M.A. (Paris University), in "Facts about France," published in 1919 with a foreword by the Inspector General of Public Instruction in France, says, at page 74: "The banner of St. Martin, the oriflamme of St. Denis, a white cornet personal to the king, and another royal banner in the form of a blue pennant with four fleurs-de-lis, were used jointly for a time. Then, from . . . accession of the Bourbon branch, 1589, the white cornet, strewn with fleurs-de-lis, remained the only flag."⁴

Thus it is seen how authorities differ. In such a situation should we not rely, preferably, upon the profound, special research of Desjardins?

4. Mr. Chapin (referred to in note 3, supra) remarks that the "French Neptune," published in 1700, disproves this last statement, for it shows the elaborate white standard with the arms of the Maison de France as in use then.

Flag of the French Navy

A WHITE flag or pavillon blanc, with originally perhaps a white cross stitched upon it, was the flag of the French Navy in the period from 1778 to 1783, as well as long previously. It was the flag used by Champlain in 1609, and by De Grasse in his supremely important naval battle off Chesapeake Bay in 1781. In fact, it is one of the most significant flags in our history, for, in various convoys and cruises and some actual sea-fighting in American waters, during the period of the French Alliance, fully 40,000 men of the French Navy cooperated with us. We can even read their names, down to the last cabin boy, in the archives of France, these "forgotten men of the American Revolution."⁵

It is this flag, apparently, that Blanchard, Dumas and other French officers referred to as "the French flag," in their American diaries and journals. This must also have been the white "French flag" mentioned by Minister of War Vergennes in his instructions to Lafayette as to the landing of the French fleet and troops in American in 1780.⁶

As will be explained later, in the chapter on "The French Regimental Flags," there was never in France, until the tri-color appeared in the French Revolution of 1789, a *national* flag: that is to say, a common or uniform flag carried by all regiments and ships, of the army and navy, to represent the nation.⁷ There were various

5. "Les Combattants Francais de la Guerre Americaine, 1778-1783," compiled by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1903. See also the address of the Consul for France at Philadelphia, Marcel de Verneuil, April 3, 1936, at the 48th annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution; published in the "Annual Proceedings" of the Society, 1935-1936.

6. For translations of passages from Blanchard, Dumas and Vergennes, see "France and New England," by Allan Forbes and Paul F. Cadman; volume 1, pages 15, 104, 108. As to the flag itself, see "Les Drapeaux Francais," by Gustave Desjardins; 1874.

7. But even our stars and stripes were not regularly carried by our own Army regiments until well into the 19th century. (See "The Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag," by R. C. Ballard Thruston, 1926, published by Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.; and "The National Flag," page 60, by Willis F. Johnson, 1930, also a logical and well-considered work.)

royal standards or personal flags of the kings, but no national ensign. The researches of Desjardins, the preeminent "scholar and student of this subject," as well as other authorities in France,⁸ have shown this conclusively. Therefore, the white silk flag sprinkled (*semée*) with gold fleurs-de-lis, pictured on page 35 of the 1913 flag book of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution (see Preface, *supra*) could not have been "The Royal (or Bourbon) Flag of France"; nor, seemingly, was it "used by the French allied forces in the American Revolution."

8. Felix Pernet (see note 14 on page 115, *infra*), in "The Men of Yorktown," pages 2 and 4. A copy of this work will be found, under title of "French Flags," in the file of "Flag Book Sources" kept by Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, referred to in second page of Preface, *supra*.

The French Regimental Flags

FOR sheer artistic, old world pageantry it is doubtful if anything has ever been seen in America more impressive than the army of Rochambeau during our Revolution, when it paraded with unusual display as at Philadelphia in 1781 in honor of Congress, then at the surrender of Cornwallis in Yorktown, and through Boston in 1782. The French regiments were superbly uniformed and equipped. The Soissonnais wore white coats with rose-colored facings, and grenadier caps with white and rose-colored plumes. The Royal Deux-Ponts, the largest of the French regiments, wore white; the Bourbonnais, red and black; the Saintonge, green and white. The artillery were dressed in blue coats with red facings, long white leggings, and red pompons. Officers wore white, faced with red, green or blue, high military boots, and two-cornered chapeaux with white cockades.

The company at the head (or right) of each regiment carried the colonel's flag, his drapeau blanc, not a national flag like our stars and stripes or the French tri-color of today, but a flag nevertheless representing delegated royal authority.⁹ Nearly all of the colonels' flags of the French troops in America were plain white with large central crosses stitched in outline upon them, white on white; the lines of the canton triangles of the company flags of the regiment being also similarly shown. The Deux-Ponts colonel's flag, however, had a crown and other heraldic devices colored or gilded upon its white field, together with fleurs-de-lis; and for the two artillery regiments there were also fleurs-de-lis.¹⁰ These colonels' flags gave an impression of brilliant whiteness. A Hessian sergeant at Yorktown, one of the very few contemporaries who recorded his obser-

9. Felix Pernet (see note 14, *infra*) states that these "colonel flags" once symbolized the authority of the colonel-general of all the French infantry. This rank was abolished early in the 18th century, the king thus becoming colonel-general of his infantry: the personal leader of one company in each regiment.

10. The colonel's flag of the Dillon regiment also had devices upon it, in red, black and gold on the white field; and the flag of the colonel of the Walsh regiment was likewise ornate.

vations, said: "On the right wing of each French regiment was gorgeously paraded a rich standard of white silk.¹¹ . . . The French troops were all tall, handsome men. . . ."

Then along the regimental ranks, at intervals, were the company flags, vari-colored, simple, yet strangely beautiful: reminiscent, it may be, of centuries of Old France, when the chape de St. Martin marched before the army like some later ark of the covenant, or when, behind the oriflamme, unwilling chivalry and wavering men-at-arms came rallying forth to save a half-lost cause.

The drapeaux de couleurs, company flags, were the same throughout each regiment.¹² They were the true regimental flags, and each bore the large central white cross. In the four angles of this cross (with few exceptions) were squares or cantons, sometimes of one solid color, sometimes of two, three or four triangles differing in color, exotic colors often, but harmonious in their tints, always blending a wonderful artistry. The white crosses in a few regiments bore golden fleurs-de-lis. The flags were usually of damask, the damask design enhancing the richness of the silk. The colors of the triangles and squares were probably painted on. The flags measured about four feet square. Each flag had a white scarf (a badge of royal service) attached to the spearhead of its staff, and short cords and tassels of white silk interwoven with threads of the colors of the flag cantons. The spearheads were small and pierced with fleurs-de-lis. The flags had gold fringe on three edges.

Nineteen French regiments or parts of regiments (infantry, cavalry and artillery) are mentioned by one or more of the three principal authorities consulted, Davis, Balch and "Les Combattants" (see note 13 on page 111), as having served on our soil in the American Revolution: a total of over 10,000 officers and men. "Les Combattants," in many cases, gives the names of even the

11. The words omitted here are: "with three golden fleurs-de-lis embroidered upon it." But this could not have been. The sergeant saw the white flags of the colonels, and he saw fleurs-de-lis on some of them, but he did not see three on each flag. The entire passage will be found in Kapp's biography of Steuben, translated from the original manuscript diary of this sergeant, in Kapp's own library (1859).

12. Davis says that each company did not have a flag, as the number was reduced "just before the Revolution" to two for each battalion. Lerondeau's "Au Drapeau," page 81, says that in 1786 there was a new regulation with regard to the flags in the French army. But this, of course, was *after* our American Revolution, although before the French Revolution. Perhaps Davis was in error here. M. Harot (see Note 3) stated in a letter to Mr. Chapin, in August, 1939: "I would particularly insist that in each regiment there were as many flags as there were companies (or captains, if you will). One company had the drapeau blanc with the white cross, which was not a national flag but the flag of the king. The other companies had flags with the white cross standing out in a field of divers colors, very variable at first, more standardized toward the end of the régime."

enlisted men. There were also detachments of French engineers, sappers, miners and workmen; and the French brought with them their own siege and field artillery. As to thirteen of the nineteen regiments mentioned, all three authorities agree; four are mentioned by only two (Auxerrois, Champagne, Armagnac and Walsh regiments); and the remaining two (Belzunce and Grenoble regiments) by only one of these authorities.

There were about 7500 French army troops at Yorktown in 1781; and there must have been at least 3500 at Savannah in 1779, over 2800 of whom were in the assaulting columns, where they lost nearly one-fourth of their number. Except for the Corsican campaign of 1768-1769, the younger men of these regiments were not veterans of much land-fighting. The older men, of course, could have served through part of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).

On the next succeeding pages will be shown or described the distinctive company flags (*drapeaux de couleurs*) of the regiments of Louis XVI who were or may have been, wholly or partly, in America, between 1778 and 1783.

Under the caption of each regiment will be given:

(A) The story of the regiment with especial reference to its service in the American Revolution, stated very briefly, taken from Davis, Stone, Balch, Forbes and others;¹³

(B) A short description, taken from Desjardins or Davis, of the company flag special to that regiment (never duplicated in any other regiment), each of these company flags, unless otherwise stated, having a large, central, white Greek cross, extending from side to side and from top to bottom of the flag; the squares or cantons formed by the angles of the cross being designated in heraldic order, as follows: 1st canton, at upper left-hand corner next to the staff; 2nd canton, to the right of the 1st; 3rd canton, next to the staff, under the 1st canton; 4th canton, under the 2nd canton.

13. On these succeeding pages:

Balch means "The French in America," by Thomas Balch (1895);

Davis means "Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution," by Gherardi Davis, 1907; with Supplements in 1908 and 1910;

Desjardins means "Les Drapeaux Francais," by Gustave Desjardins (1874); copy in the library of William Davis Miller, and in the library of Historical Society of Pennsylvania;

Forbes means "France and New England," by Allan Forbes and Paul F. Cadman (1925);

Les Combattants means "Les Combattants de la Guerre Americaine," compiled by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1903);

Stone means "Our French Allies," by Edwin Martin Stone (1884).

Bourbonnais Regiment

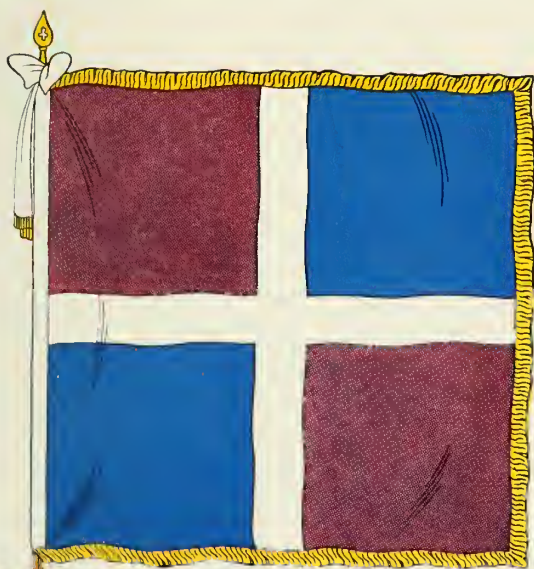
(SEE COLOR PLATE 8)

THIS regiment was organized in 1597 from the garrisons of Provence, and received the name of "Bourbonnais" in 1673. It served in Corsica, and was sent to America with Rochambeau in 1780. On March 16, 1781, it participated, on the ships *Ardent* and *Jason*, in the naval battle between the squadrons of Arbuthnot and D'Estouches at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. At that time it was common for land troops to be "garrisoned" on ships of war, to fight side by side with the sailors. There were casualties on both of these ships. The British admiral succeeded in blocking off the French, thus frustrating a plan to trap Arnold, with the aid of Lafayette's forces, on the James River.

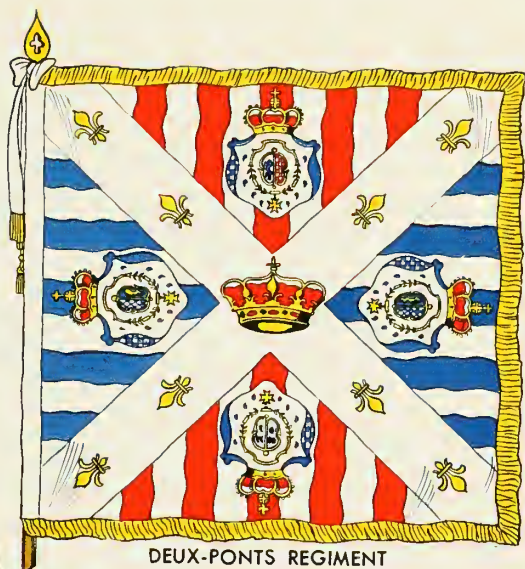
With the other regiments of Rochambeau, the Bourbonnais made the overland journey from Newport to the lines of Washington on the Hudson River near Dobbs' Ferry, marching later to Annapolis, and boarding there the frigates and transports of De Grasse, for the James River. After the march from Williamsburg on September 28, 1781, it occupied Pigeon Hill on September 30, in the course of reconnoitering, but the British had deserted the strong redoubt which they had erected there. From that time until the two parallels had been completed, about October 14, and the French and American guns and mortars had been mounted, the Bourbonnais served its turn in the trenches, more or less dangerous work, with the rest of the Army. Some of its chasseurs, also, were in the famous attack on the two British redoubts on the night of October 14-15.

This regiment was the seventh from the French left, being brigaded with the Deux-Ponts regiment, under Major-General the Baron de Viomenil.

After the Yorktown siege was over, the Bourbonnais returned to New England in the long marching column of Rochambeau's



BOURBONNAIS REGIMENT



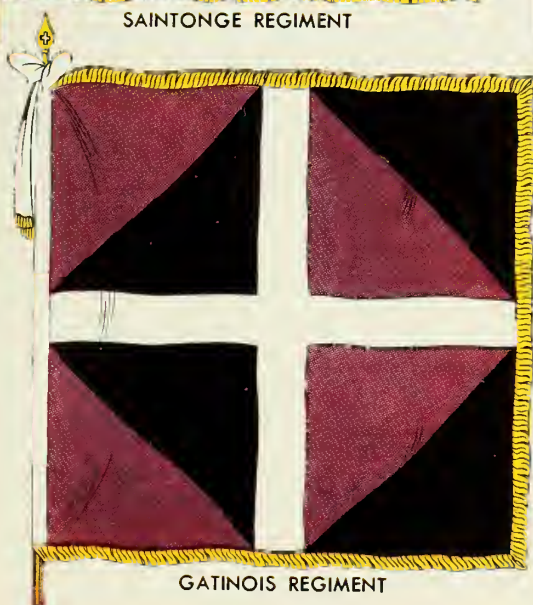
DEUX-PONTS REGIMENT



SAINTONGE REGIMENT



SOISSONNAIS REGIMENT



GATINOIS REGIMENT



AGENOIS REGIMENT

BOURBONNAIS REGIMENT

army, with its slow artillery and wagon train, and by the end of 1782 had left our shores again.

From 1776 to 1783 the regiment was commanded by Colonel the Marquis de Laval de Montmorenci, with the Viscount de Rochambeau, son of the Count de Rochambeau, as Colonel en second until November, 1782.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. 1st and 4th cantons, purple; 2nd and 3rd cantons, blue.

Deux-Ponts Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 8)

THE principal adventures at the Siege of Yorktown were the fight at Gloucester, across the York River, and the storming of the two redoubts, below the town and three hundred yards in front of the British inner fortifications. The siege began with the march of the Allies, from Williamsburg, on September 28, 1781. Believing that they would soon be relieved from New York by Clinton, the British, upon the approach of the Allies, evacuated their outer lines, except these two forts guarding the left flank, called No. 9 and No. 10 (the latter being nearest to the river bank). The Allies began work on their first siege parallel, about 600 yards from the British inner works, on the dark and stormy night of October 6. Four days later they opened up their batteries on the enemy camp and the vessels in the river below, the French using red hot cannon balls on the ships and transports, destroying several of them. On the night of October 11 a second parallel was begun, 200 to 300 yards from the British. This task was completed on the 14th, but the British artillery fire had become more effective than at first, the two river redoubts causing especial annoyance. Washington and Rochambeau, having little time to spare, resolved to storm these two redoubts on the night of October 14-15. The Rock Redoubt, No. 10, on the river bank, was assigned to the Americans, led by Alexander Hamilton under the direction of Lafayette. The stronger fort, to the left, No. 9, was assigned to the French, under Major-General le Baron Viomenil. The French column, numbering about 400, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Viscount William de Deux-Ponts, was made up of men from the Gatinois Regiment in the van and rear-guard, with the main body, the centre, from the Deux-Ponts Regiment. Selected men from the Bourbonnais and Agenois regiments were also included. The French won their redoubt in about half an hour, first cutting down the abatis and filling the ditch in places with fascines, in the approved

European fashion. The attack was made at about eight o'clock in the evening of October 14. The Americans gained their No. 10 redoubt in somewhat less time, as they crawled under or hacked their way through the tree-entanglements and then rushed the ditch in front of them. Both parties had heavy losses from the cannon and musket fire, the French losing one-fourth of their number, including their leader, Lieutenant-Colonel de Deux-Ponts, who was painfully wounded. Count Charles de Lameth, of Rochambeau's staff, was shot in both knees, but recovered without amputation. The two forts were immediately included in the second parallel and by the afternoon of the 15th were bombarding the enemy.

The Deux-Ponts, Agenois and Gatinois regiments were especially applauded at the French court for this achievement, and received pensions and other favors. Washington presented to Rochambeau three of the English cannon captured at Yorktown. Rochambeau gave one of these to the Deux-Ponts regiment.

Coming from Zweibruecken, in the Saar Basin, near Alsace, and named after the Dukes of Deux-Ponts, this regiment was made up principally of Bavarians. It entered the service of France, however, in 1758, and made a splendid record for itself, on the French side, in the Seven Years' War in Germany, being called at that time the Regiment du Palatinat. Felix Pernet explains the presence of this regiment among the French troops as follows: "This is due to the fact that, till the end of the XVIIIth century, the people of these regions of the left bank of the Rhine, looked exclusively toward the west and the south, toward Versailles and Strasbourg. The Princes of Deux-Ponts, who were colonels of French regiments, did not know the way to Berlin, and if their subjects after having crossed the Rhine, ever met Prussians, it was on the battlefield, separated from them by the length of a French rifle and a good bayonet."¹⁴

The Deux-Ponts Regiment, or as it was often called, the Royal Deux-Ponts, was the largest of Rochambeau's four infantry regiments, noted for its splendid white uniform and for the fineness of its equipment. It sailed from Brest with the French expeditionary army, arriving at Newport on June 11, 1780, after 72 days at sea. In the summer of 1781 it made the long march from Newport to Yorktown, and finally back to Boston.

14. "Ceux de Yorktown" ("The Men of Yorktown"); by "Servan Malo" (Felix Pernet); published in France, in both French and English, in 1918; copy received through the courtesy of the author, and of M. Girodie, curator of the Franco-American Co-operation Museum in Biérancourt, through the French Information Center, of New York and Paris. (See note 8, supra.)

DEUX-PONTS REGIMENT

Count Christian de Forbach de Deux-Ponts was its colonel until 1782.

Later, as the 99th Regiment of the French Army, it received the praise of Marshal Ney.

Flag Description. White diagonal cross, each arm bearing gold fleurs-de-lis, while a crown holds the centre. There are also the arms of the Dukes of Deux-Ponts, over red and blue wavy stripes, 6 white and 5 red stripes, in the upper and lower triangles, and 6 white and 5 blue, in the right and left triangles. Davis shows a photographic copy of an original of this flag, from which the elaborate details can be obtained.

Saintonge Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 8)

THIS was one of the four infantry regiments sent to America in 1780 under the command of Lieutenant-General the Count of Rochambeau. Its colonel, 1780-1782, was the Comte de Custine, a distinguished officer, who was afterwards guillotined during the French Revolution. The Vicomte de Rochambeau, son of the General, became colonel on November 11, 1782. Until then he had been lieutenant-colonel of the Bourbonnais regiment.

The history of the Saintonge Regiment dated from 1684, or perhaps earlier, as it was formed from the Navarre Regiment of 1563. It was named after that ancient French province, near the Bay of Biscay, north of Bordeaux, from which Champlain and the Sieur de Monts set sail for their American explorations, and which later sent some of its best Huguenot families to settle in New England. In 1775 the regiment was enlarged by including in it the regiment of Cambr sis.

The Saintonge Regiment did not participate in the storming of Stony Point in 1779, although it has been so stated; the regiment did not reach America until 1780. But one of its officers, the Marquis de Fleury, did participate. He was the first of Wayne's force to enter the fort, and carried off the British colors with his own hand. For this he was awarded a medal by Congress.

De Fleury entered the French Army in 1768 when he was 19 years old, served in the Corsican campaign, obtained a leave of absence with the French rank of captain of engineers in 1776, and joined the American Army as a volunteer. He was at Brandywine and Germantown, and as engineer-in-chief at Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island below Philadelphia, he remained at his post during the entire six weeks' siege, although the other defenders were several times relieved, and was severely wounded on the last day. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel by Congress in 1777, and fought at Monmouth in 1778. From 1780 to 1782 De Fleury served under Rochambeau, as a major in the Saintonge Regiment. For his brav-

ery at Yorktown he was made a Chevalier of St. Louis. Later he became a field-marshal in the French Army.

At Yorktown the Saintonge Regiment was brigaded with the Soissonnais Regiment in the centre of the French line, under Major-General Viscount Viomenil.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. Each of the 4 cantons is divided by diagonals into 4 triangles, colored blue, yellow, green and red. Davis says that the sequence of these colors does not seem to be determined, and the flag is therefore differently colored in different books. The colored plates of Desjardins show the following arrangement (beginning in each canton with the upper triangle, then the left, then the right, and finally the lower triangle), viz: 1st canton, yellow, red, blue, green; 2nd canton, green, red, blue, yellow; 3rd canton, red, green, yellow, blue; 4th canton, green, red, yellow, blue.

Soissonnais Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 8)

THIS was another of the four infantry regiments which Rochambeau brought with him from France in 1780, and which served with him all through his American campaign. Some of the companies of the Soissonnais Regiment had to be left at Brest owing to lack of transports, but were probably brought over later, in the early part of 1781.

This regiment was formed in 1598, taking its name from an old province of France. It had served in the Seven Years' War, and distinguished itself at the battle of Langfeld. At Yorktown it was brigaded with the Saintonge Regiment, under Major-General the Viscount Viomenil.

With the other regiments of Rochambeau it was taken on small boats from Newport to Providence, in 1781, marching from there to Dobbs' Ferry, New York, to join with Washington's forces; crossing the Hudson River; thence down through Ramapo, the Hackensack Valley, Newark, Perth Amboy, Trenton, Philadelphia and Elkton, to Baltimore or Annapolis; sailing then through Chesapeake Bay to the James River near Williamsburg, Virginia, on frigates or transports sent from the squadron of Admiral de Barras after it had slipped past the British to join De Grasse's fleet in Lynn Haven Bay at the entrance to the Chesapeake.

The colonel of this regiment was the Comte de Saint Maisme. The brother-in-law of Lafayette, the Vicomte de Noailles, was second in command. It was he who led, at dawn, the French counter-charge at Yorktown, with the cry of "Vive le Roi," after a British sortie on October 16 had captured two unfinished French redoubts, spiking a number of their cannon.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. Each of the 4 cantons is divided into two triangles by diagonals of the flag. 1st canton: upper triangle, black; lower, red. 2nd canton: upper triangle, red; lower, black. 3rd canton: upper triangle, black; lower, red. 4th canton: upper triangle, red; lower, black. (Davis shows a photographic copy of an original of this flag.)

Gatinois Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 8)

IN 1776 the Royal Auvergne Regiment was divided into two, one-half retaining the old name and the other half becoming the Gatinois Regiment. The Royal Auvergne was organized in 1608 under Henry IV, as the Regiment du Bourg. In 1626 it was chosen to hold the dike which Richelieu had built in his blockade of La Rochelle. In 1635 it was given the name of "Auvergne." From 1756 to 1763 it was engaged in the war against Frederick the Great in Germany. Its motto was "Sans tache."

In 1779 the Gatinois Regiment fought valiantly and suffered severely in the assault on Savannah, retreating in perfect order after D'Estaing's ill-advised exploit had failed.

In 1781 the regiment was brought from the West Indies again for the siege of Yorktown, where it gained lasting fame for its leading part (with the Deux-Ponts Regiment) in the night attack, October 14-15, on the No. 9 British redoubt near the York River. Before this dangerous enterprise the soldiers of the Gatinois had offered to fight until the last one was killed if Rochambeau would give them back their old name. Rochambeau himself had been an officer of the Royal Auvergne Regiment. They did fight well, and the reward which they had asked was granted them by the King. When the news reached Rochambeau it is said that he held a solemn review of the regiment at Gloucester, opposite Yorktown.¹⁵

Colonel the Marquis de Rostaign commanded the regiment at Yorktown, and probably also at Savannah. He was made a brigadier in December, 1781.

15. During the World War of 1914-1919 some American soldiers were conversing in camp with a group of Frenchmen. The Americans asked to what regiment the French soldiers belonged. "To the old Royal Auvergne, *sans tache*," was the rejoinder. (This incident is narrated in "France and New England," volume 2, page 123, as having been told by a Boston colonel. The ancient regiment had become the 18th Infantry Regiment of this later French Army.)

GATINOIS REGIMENT

The Gatinois was an ancient government of France, with its capital at Nemours. Auvergne was also an old French province, in central France.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. Each of the 4 cantons is divided into two triangles by lines joining the outer edges of the cross. 1st canton: upper triangle, purple; lower, black. 2nd canton: upper triangle, black; lower, purple. 3rd canton: upper triangle, purple; lower, black. 4th canton: upper triangle, black; lower, purple. (The old Royal Auvergne flag is given by Desjardins as having had four cantons: red, blue, blue, red.)

Agenois Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 8)

THIS regiment was organized after 1771, taking the name of a province in southwestern France, formerly part of Guienne. At Savannah, October 9, 1779, it lost six officers and many of its enlisted men in the strong French attack on the British fortifications, in which the American forces cooperated, also losing heavily.

In 1781, its 1st and 2nd battalions again crossed from the West Indies, this time with the Gatinois and Touraine Regiments, under Major-General the Marquis de St. Simon. After marching from Williamsburg to Yorktown on September 28 with the other French regiments, its grenadier and chasseur companies took part on October 3 in the driving in of the British pickets along the French front, and later participated in the fighting connected with the construction of the two parallels. It was the third regiment from the left on the French front.

In the night engagement of October 14-15, some of its chasseurs formed part of the centre of the French column which attacked and captured the No. 9 redoubt on the British left.

At Savannah the Agenois Regiment was led by its colonel-commandant, the Baron de Cadignan, and at Yorktown its commander was Comte d'Autichamp.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. The 1st and 4th cantons are divided into triangles by lines joining the outer edges of the cross. 1st canton: upper triangle, green; lower, yellow. 2nd canton: purple. 3rd canton: purple. 4th canton: upper triangle, yellow; lower, green.

Touraine Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 9)

THE name of this regiment brings to mind the glories of the famous city of Tours, capital of ancient Touraine in the western central part of France.

The regiment itself dates back to 1625. It was at the siege of La Rochelle, and also at Minden, 1759, where Lafayette's father was killed.

Coming from the West Indies on De Grasse's ships, it was brigaded on the left of the French line at Yorktown, between the Gatinois and Agenois Regiments, under Major-General the Marquis de St. Simon. This brigade or division of three regiments built a strong battery equipped with fourteen or more of the cannon and mortars which they had brought from St. Domingo. It faced the British right, on the high bluff along the York River, where the so-called British Fusileers Fort was located, across a swampy stream. This battery, supported often by the Touraine Regiment, and sometimes called the Touraine Battery, was the one which fired upon and destroyed several British warships and transports in the river below. It also made a feint or false demonstration, under orders, on the night of October 14-15, 1781, during the storming of the two redoubts, No. 9 and No. 10, opposite the British left.

Balch finds that the regiment was at that time probably commanded by the Baron de St. Simon, brother of the General, but "Les Combattants" says that the Vicomte de Poudeux (born 1748) was colonel from April 13, 1780.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. 1st canton, aurora (a yellowish red) ; 2nd, blue; 4th, red; 3rd, green.

Metz Artillery Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 9)

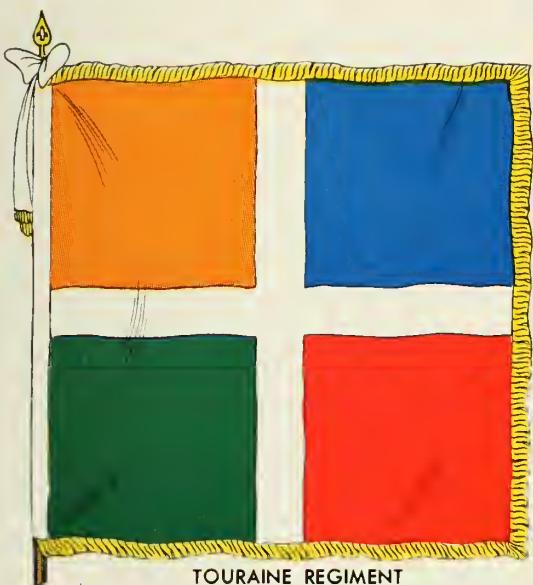
ALL of this regiment (organized in 1765) served with Rochambeau in America, 1780 to 1783, under the command of Colonel the Count d'Aboville. Davis says that it was also at Savannah in 1779.

The artillery was extremely well managed at Yorktown (see Cornwallis' letter to Clinton, October 15, 1781; quoted by Balch, volume 2, page 39). Doubtless much of the credit for this was due to d'Aboville, especially as the French provided most, if not all, of the heavy siege guns and mortars which were used.

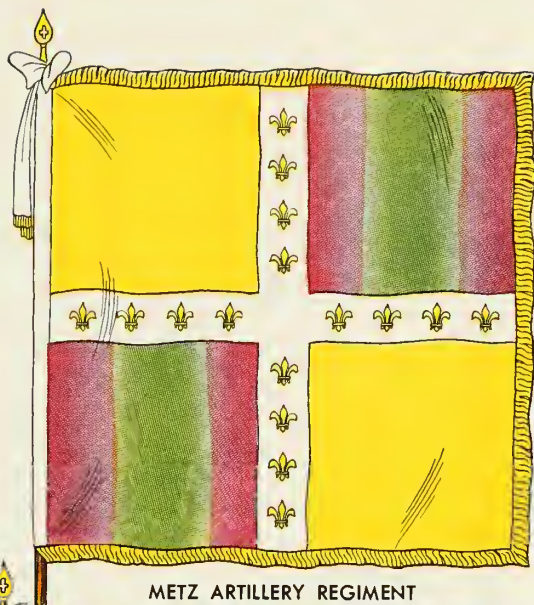
According to Stone (page 464), d'Aboville was in command of all the French artillery at Yorktown. Later he became a lieutenant-general of artillery in the army of the French Revolution, 1792; and under the Empire he became inspector-general of the artillery, a senator and an officer of the Legion of Honor. The old Metz Regiment is known as the 19th Artillery Regiment in the present French Army.

The French official records of the period are quite incomplete as to the artillery and engineer regiments, or parts of regiments, which came to America in 1778-1783, although Balch finds (volume 2, page 12) that Rochambeau brought with him in 1780 some of the Royal Corps of Engineers (under Colonel Desandrouins), also six companies of cannoneers, one company of bombardiers, and detachments of workmen, miners and sappers. Other detachments were sent to him later from France.

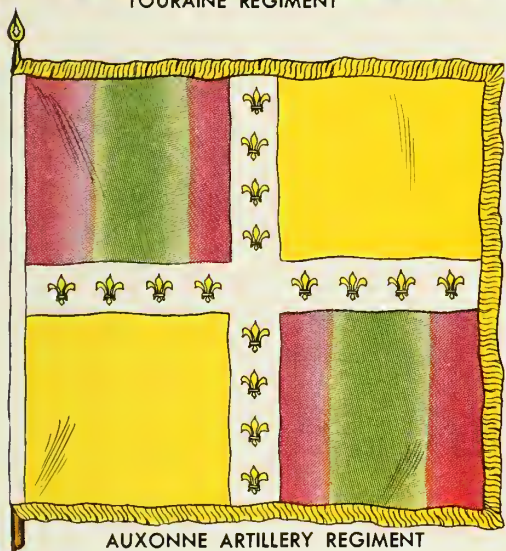
The field artillery followed the French infantry by land from Rhode Island all of the way to Annapolis, where it was taken on ships to Jamestown, near Williamsburg. The siege artillery remained at Newport, embarking there for the Chesapeake, on August 21, 1781, on the squadron of De Barras. It was finally dragged six miles, over very bad roads, from Trebell's Landing, on the James River, to Yorktown.



TOURAINE REGIMENT



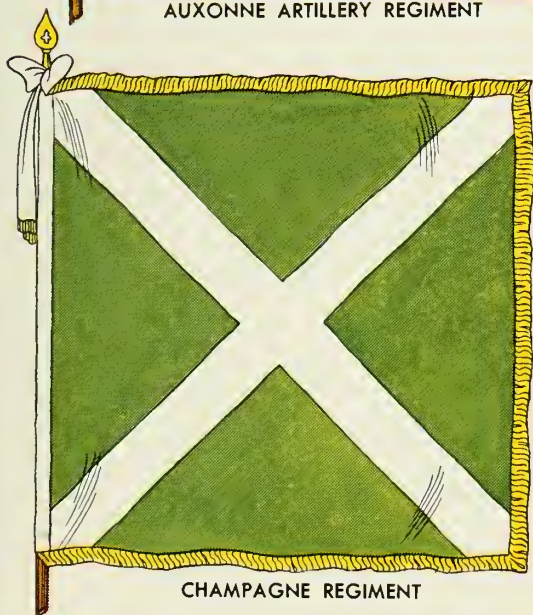
METZ ARTILLERY REGIMENT



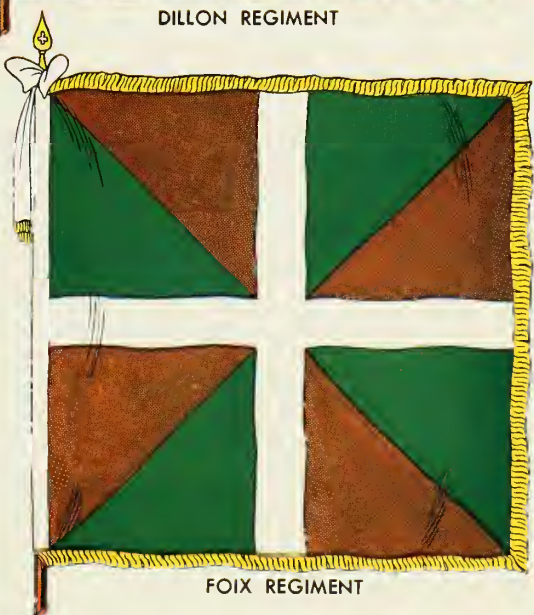
AUXONNE ARTILLERY REGIMENT



DILLON REGIMENT



CHAMPAGNE REGIMENT



FOIX REGIMENT

METZ ARTILLERY REGIMENT

Metz was one of the three ancient bishoprics which were annexed to France in 1552. In 1871 part of this Metz region went to Germany, but was recovered again by France in 1919.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. 1st and 4th cantons, yellow; 2nd and 3rd cantons, gorge de pigeon (an iridescent green and reddish purple) . There are golden fleurs-de-lis on each arm of the white cross.

Auxonne Artillery Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 9)

THE second battalion of this regiment was in America, as a part of Rochambeau's army, and, of course, was with him at Yorktown. It is mentioned in an official list of the French regiments quartered in Newport, 1780-1781, according to Stone.

Two chiefs of brigade, Nadal and De Buzelet, were its principal officers. Nadal was Rochambeau's director of artillery trains.

After the French had left Newport and had joined forces with the American army in the summer of 1781, De Neuris, a captain in this regiment, set up a battery of cannon and mortars on the Hudson River where it narrows above Peekskill, New York. On July 18, 1781, he succeeded in damaging a British naval squadron which was attempting to sail past, and thus effectively discouraged the British from venturing too far up the river for the safety of the Allies.

The regiment was formed in 1765.

Auxonne was an old fortified city, restored by Vauban in the 17th century, and once belonged to the dukes of Burgundy. It is situated in the Côte d'Or section of eastern France, on the Saone River.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. 1st and 4th cantons, gorge de pigeon (an iridescent green and reddish purple); 2nd and 3rd cantons, yellow. There are golden fleurs-de-lis on each arm of the white cross.

Lauzun's Legion

THE flag of this organization cannot be pictured. To this day not even a description of it is available.

Lauzun's Legion, however, had its importance in American history.

It was created by royal decree in 1780, and the Duc de Lauzun was appointed to command it, with the rank of brigadier.

"Les Combattants" says that Rochambeau arrived at Newport, July 13, 1780, with four regiments of infantry, 700 artillery and engineers, and 600 infantry and 300 cavalry under Lauzun; elsewhere stating that Lauzun brought with him two companies of lancers and two companies of hussars. Blanchard says that there were "about 500 artillerymen and 600 men of Lauzun's Legion, 300 of whom were intended to form a troop of horse."¹⁶ Balch states that altogether about 600 men were under Lauzun in 1781, flanking Rochambeau on his southward march; also that the 2nd battalion of the Dillon Regiment joined Rochambeau in March, 1780, on the same ship with Lauzun's Legion, and that they "did not leave one another" during the entire campaign, even reaching the Head of Elk together for the Yorktown siege, and being together in the fight at Gloucester, October 3, 1781, across the river from Yorktown.

The Legion wintered, from November, 1780 to June, 1781, at Lebanon, Connecticut, as an outpost for Rochambeau's army at Newport, Rhode Island. Then it proceeded, in a southwesterly direction toward the Hudson River, following a separate route, to protect the left flank of Rochambeau's column. Some of its men were left in Lebanon to guard a French military hospital which had been established there. The Legion patrolled and reconnoitered constantly, toward New York City, after the French had united with Washington's army near Dobbs Ferry. This reconnoitering was arduous, often dangerous work, but it was carried out with

16. Page 2 of "Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution"; translated; published at Albany, N. Y., 1876.

great daring and thoroughness by both the French and the Americans. During a reconnaissance in force undertaken by several thousand of the Allied troops, July 22 and 23, 1781, Washington and Rochambeau rode together in person for two days with scarcely any rest, viewing at close range the outer defenses of the British on Manhattan and Long Islands, frequently under enemy fire. They were covered by American light infantry and French grenadiers and chasseurs, but more particularly by Lauzun's hussars and Sheldon's American cavalry. Rochambeau remarks in his "Memoirs" about the novelty of swimming the horses in droves across the streams and narrow tidewaters, in the American manner. Altogether, Clinton became thoroughly convinced that a major attack was being prepared against New York City.

Later, Lauzun's Legion marched with the Allied army to Williamsburg, Virginia, his cavalry taking the land route with the baggage, the field artillery and some of the army stores, his infantry embarking at Head of Elk (near Elkton, Maryland) with De Cistine. The Legion united before Gloucester as a part of the Allied force which had been sent across the York River to oppose the British infantry of Dundas and the cavalry of Tarleton, who had entrenched there for foraging purposes and to protect the British left flank; but probably also to provide an avenue of escape for Cornwallis if Yorktown proved untenable. Washington feared the latter motive and wished Lauzun to command a retaining force there. The command, however, was given to De Choisy, a very capable French officer who was Lauzun's senior, but who, like Weedon, whom he affected to scorn for over-cautiousness, was far back with the reserves when the cavalry fight took place.

While Lauzun, who spoke English readily, was approaching Gloucester from the land side, on October 3, 1781, with about half of the mounted portion of his Legion, he made inquiries "of a pretty woman at the door of a small house on the high road." She said that Colonel Tarleton had just left her house, expressing a wish "to shake hands with the French duke." Lauzun laughingly replied that he had come on purpose to give that satisfaction to the Colonel. Lauzun then dashed forward, but had not gone a hundred paces when he heard his advance guard firing pistol shots. He immediately sought ground on which to draw up his force, and had hardly arrived when he saw the British cavalry coming toward him, much outnumbering his own. But he charged, nevertheless, and without halting. Reckless it was, perhaps, but that was the way of the cavalry. And we think of our own William Washington

at the Cowpens: reckless too, but successful, fighting and wounding this same fierce Tarleton, hand to hand and face to face. Lauzun and Tarleton rode toward each other with pistols raised, but Tarleton was unhorsed by a British trooper who was fleeing from a French lancer. Disabled, he was rescued by some of his own men who rode between the two combatants. Lauzun kept Tarleton's horse, however. Tarleton's command, although somewhat disorganized, charged Lauzun again, but without breaking the French ranks. Then Lauzun, having been joined by the rest of his cavalry (under Count Dillon), drove Tarleton's mounted force back to the British entrenchments, partly routing it.¹⁷ The British infantry now advanced in support, but their commander was killed, and they were finally obliged to retreat by the prompt action of Lieutenant-Colonel John Mercer, of General Weedon's militia, who had under him a strong and capable battalion of old soldiers. Lauzun's infantry, the 800 marines, and the rest of Weedon's force, with De Choisy, did not begin to arrive upon the scene until thirty or forty minutes after the British had retired.¹⁸

The British never stirred from their redoubts on Gloucester Point, after that, during the remainder of the siege, although fatal it might have been for our cause, at Yorktown, if Cornwallis had

17. As to this fight at Gloucester, Virginia, October 3, 1781, see: "Memoirs of the Duc de Lauzun," p. 325 etc., translated, published in New York, 1912; "Memoirs of the War," by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lee, edition of 1812, vol. 2, p. 330 etc., or edition of 1827, p. 355 etc.; also "Battles of the American Revolution," by H. B. Carrington, p. 636, giving Tarleton's version (published in 1876).
18. It would seem rather evident that the 2nd Dillon battalion must have made up, in whole or in part, the infantry portion of the Duc de Lauzun's Legion, especially as neither the Dillon Regiment nor either of its battalions is mentioned anywhere, separately, in connection with Newport or Yorktown. Balch says that the 1st battalion was commanded by Count Arthur Dillon and the 2nd battalion by his brother, Robert Dillon. A French manuscript list of the principal "Officers of the French Army in America under the Count de Rochambeau," at Newport (see Balch, vol. 1, p. 101; and Stone, p. 220), recites the following: "Legion de Lauzun: MM. Le Duc de Lauzun; Count Arthur Dillon." It was this same Arthur Dillon who was wounded at Gloucester, in association with Lauzun. Stone also quotes, however, from a French manuscript containing a list of the regiments and the higher army and navy officers quartered in the town. On this list we find: "Volontaires de Lauzun: Le Duc de Lauzun, Col., pp'd; Hugu, Lieut.-Col'el; de Sheldon." There was a sub-lieutenant Sheldon in the Dillon Regiment, according to Balch; but apparently he found no mention of a Lieutenant-Colonel Hugu. Balch further says (vol. 1, p. 104) that on board the *Provence*, one of the ships which brought over Rochambeau's expedition in 1778, were: "de Lauzun, Robert Dillon, Chevalier d'Arrot, and a part of the Legion." Count Arthur Dillon is not included. In his 2nd volume, page 43, however, he says, referring to the "Memoirs of Duc de Lauzun," that Viscount d'Arrot "was on board the *Provence* to cross to America with Count de Dillon, under the orders of de Lauzun. But Balch remarks elsewhere that the French Archives of War and of the Navy, and the "Annuaire Militaires," are often inaccurate as well as incomplete: "For instance," he says, "they make no mention of the Duke of Lauzun, nor his legion, which rendered such important service to the expeditionary corps."

succeeded in his bold plan to transfer his entire army (except his ineffectives) across York River on the night of October 16. Probably our seemingly large force facing Gloucester, numbering 3500 French and Americans, could not have stopped him. His first division was landed on the Gloucester shore unmolested; but when the boats were sent back for the next division they became scattered in a sudden, very violent storm of wind and rain. Next morning the first division had to be brought back to Yorktown.

Dr. Ezra Stiles, then president of Yale College, says in his diary on June 26, 1781: "This afternoon arrived and encamped here the Duke de Lauzun with his Legion consisting of 300 Horse and 300 foot Light Infantry. . . . De Lauzun, with his legion of 600 men, cavalry, hussars, grenadiers and lancers, passed through New Haven." Another writer says that next day they trailed down into the valley, and took the steep road up the west bank, "finding it necessary at times to improve the road with a double corduroy for the passage of the heavy wagons. . . . Weary as the army was with the ascent, an array of 600 men with all the splendor of gold lace and nodding plumes, the horses bravely caparisoned . . . was a rare sight." (See Forbes, vol. 1, page 153.)

The Duc de Lauzun, born in 1747, became in 1788 the Duc de Biron, upon the death of his uncle. In 1781 he was promoted to *marechale de camp*, but having lost favor at court through the death of his friend and patron, De Maurepas, in October, 1781, he received very little credit and no other reward for his distinguished service in America, the rewards and pensions going principally to the Deux-Ponts, Agenois and Gatinois Regiments. In 1789 he attached himself to the cause of the French Revolution, commanded one of its armies in the field with considerable success, but was nevertheless guillotined, on December 31, 1793.

Dillon Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 9)

THE Dillon Regiment is somewhat of a mystery, as to its service in America. But it did serve, and bravely.

Although the French records are full of contradictions, the truth of the matter is, perhaps, that Count Arthur Dillon went to the West Indies with his 1st battalion, in 1777. He participated there with distinction in the various battles between the French and the British, helping to win the Islands for France. In the fight for Grenada, for instance, he led the third storming party. Later he became governor of Tobago and St. Christopher. In 1779 he and at least his 1st battalion accompanied D'Estaing to the siege of Savannah. Again he was among the foremost. Balch and Stone both say that his regiment lost two officers killed and four wounded; the number of his other casualties not being ascertainable.

In 1781, apparently, he went to Yorktown with St. Simon's troops. Whether or not his 1st battalion went to Gloucester and was in action there, probably will never be known, but he went there himself, led a squadron of Lauzun's cavalry, and was seriously wounded. He returned to the West Indies with De Grasse after the surrender of Cornwallis. His brother Robert seems to have commanded the Lauzun Legion on the return march toward Boston in 1782.

Some of the story of the Dillon Regiment has been told in the preceding chapter on Lauzun's Legion. As to Count Arthur Dillon, "Les Combattants" says that he was colonel in command of the regiment, two battalions of which were on the American continent between 1778 and 1783. According to Balch, Davis and also "Les Combattants," a part at least of the Dillon Regiment accompanied Rochambeau from Newport to Yorktown, and then back to Boston. Most of those who have written about the Gloucester engagement agree in mentioning, on the side of the Allies, under De Choisy, only Weedon's 1800 to 2000 American militia, Lauzun's Legion

and the 800 men drawn from the vessels of De Grasse. No mention is made of a Dillon battalion.

The Dillon Regiment originated in the happenings of 1690 in England, as Balch explains. When James II was driven from the throne and went to France, to the court of Louis XIV, Count Arthur Dillon, grandfather of the Count Arthur Dillon who served in the American Revolution, followed him, along with ten or twelve thousand other Irishmen, most of them from the best people of Ireland. Dillon received permission to form a regiment in his own name, which later distinguished itself, as a part of the French Army, in Spain, Germany, Italy and elsewhere, before going to America. It has been continued even into the French Army of today, as the 87th Infantry Regiment.

"Les Combattants" mentions in connection with the Dillon Regiment in America: Count Arthur Dillon, Colonel; Le Chevalier Theobald Dillon, Colonel en seconde; and Lieutenant-Colonel Barthélemy Dillon; but does not mention Robert Dillon.

The Count and his brother Robert were evidently able and distinguished men, or they would not have been honored, both of them, by the guillotine, in 1793, along with their friend and military associate, the Duc de Biron (Lauzun).

Flag Description. Davis describes the flag thus: On a white field a broad red cross which does not touch the edges of the flag, and bearing the motto, in black letters, IN HOC SIGNO VINCES (arrangement of lettering uncertain); in the centre of the cross is a golden harp; 1st and 4th cantons are red; 2nd and 3rd cantons, black; each charged with a large crown, the cross of which is directed toward a corner of the flag. Desjardins, in his colored plates of 1771, adds a crown in the upper arm of the cross, near the upper edge of the flag; he also shows part of the motto on each of the four arms of the cross.

Champagne Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 9)

THIS regiment, organized in 1563, was one of the oldest in the French Army. It was named from a province of France which was attached to the kingdom in 1314. Davis says that this was one of six French regiments called "Vieux."

In the brilliant but unsuccessful assault at Savannah on October 9, 1779, Balch says that it performed many deeds of valor, and suffered many casualties.

It had a detachment in 1780 on the ships of the French admiral, De Guichen, whose squadron, maneuvering, threatening, in the Caribbean, kept the British fleets from our shores. The French were, of course, protecting and extending their West Indian possessions, but, secondarily, in effect at least, they were aiding the purposes of the French Alliance, safeguarding our American continent, particularly the New England coast, which had suffered almost exhausting losses, from the British sea-power, in the previous years of the War.

The whole Champagne Regiment, says Balch, was later on the fleet of De Grasse, April 9 to 12, 1782, when De Grasse was signally defeated off the coast of Martinique, losing six ships and being himself taken prisoner.

The Champagne Regiment, however, is not listed in "Les Combattants" as having served in America.

Flag Description. White diagonal cross. All four triangles are light green.

Foix Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 9)

BALCH says of this regiment that "according to the archives of the French War Department it was sent to the West Indies in 1777, fought at Savannah under D'Estaing, and returned to France in 1783." He cites General Suzane's "Histoire de l'Infanterie." Davis also says that the Foix Regiment was at Savannah in 1779. "Les Combattants" states that one battalion of this regiment (four companies, one of which was the grenadier company) was at Savannah. Not even the names of its officers are given, however.

The Foix Regiment was organized in 1684, and later became the 83rd Regiment of the French Army. In the 13th and 14th centuries the Counts of Foix were among the most powerful of the feudal nobles of France, their lands defending the southwest border of the kingdom.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. Each of the 4 cantons is divided into two triangles by diagonals of the flag. 1st canton: lower triangle, green; upper, brown. 2nd canton: upper triangle, green; lower, brown. 3rd canton: lower triangle, green; upper, brown. 4th canton: upper triangle, green; lower, brown.

Hainault Regiment

(SEE COLOR PLATE 10)

ACCORDING to Balch, this regiment had gone to the French colonies in the West Indies in 1775, and in 1779 crossed with D'Estaing to Savannah in 1779. Davis also says that it was at Savannah.

"Les Combattants" says it was formed in 1651 as the Vendome Regiment; that in 1762 it took the name Hainault; and that in 1779 one of its battalions (four companies) was at the siege of Savannah.

The French archives, so meticulously studied by Balch, and no doubt by others, contain little about this regiment during the period of the American Revolution.

The Hainault name was a distinguished one from the very days of the Crusaders. Hainault was once a part of the duchy of Lorraine, later becoming a province of Belgium.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. 1st canton, brown; 2nd, blue; 4th, green; 3rd, purple.

Auxerrois Regiment

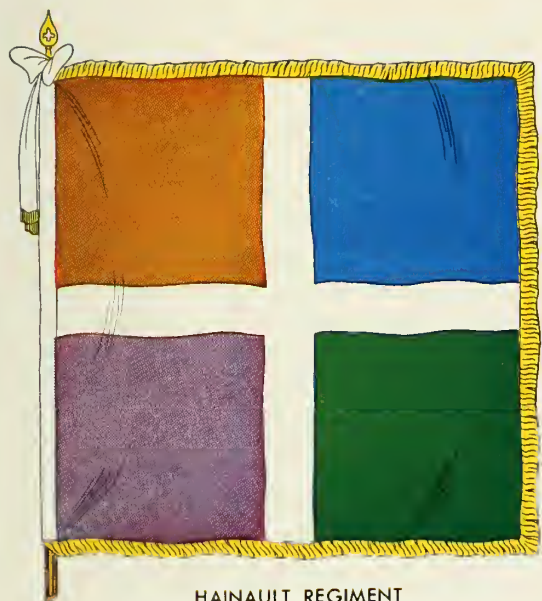
(SEE COLOR PLATE 10)

DAVIS tells us that this regiment was at the siege of Savannah in 1779, and so does Charles C. Jones in his exhaustive "History of Georgia" (volume 2, page 404). Balch says, on the other hand, that it did not leave France until 1780, but that it crossed from the West Indies, under St. Simon, and served at Yorktown in 1781.¹⁹ Its colonel, in 1778, Balch states, was the Vicomte de Damas, although "he did not set foot on the continent." "Les Combattants" does not include this regiment at all in the list of French troops in America, 1778-1783.

The Auxerrois Regiment, Davis says, was originally organized out of a part of the ancient La Marine Regiment (1635), whose flag also had blue and green cantons, symbolic of water and earth.

The Auxerrois does not appear among the regiments on the French front directly facing Yorktown. But the authorities agree that 800 men taken from the "marines" of De Grasse were included in the force under De Choisy which successfully attacked Gloucester, opposite Yorktown, defeating Tarleton, and thus playing an important part in the siege. These "marines" may have been partly at least from the Auxerrois Regiment, although this has not been verified. Lauzun, who was in command before De Choisy arrived, says in his "Memoirs" that some artillery was sent to Gloucester at his suggestion, and 800 men "drawn from the garrisons of the vessels." This was after St. Simon's infantry had left the ships of De Grasse and had reached Williamsburg. Infantry in those days was often "garrisoned" on the ships of war, 100 to 150 on each ship,

19. The famous Marquis de Montcalm was wounded in 1746 while colonel of this regiment, in the war against Austria: "Montcalm at the Battle of Carillon (Ticonderoga)," page 10, by Captain Maurice Sautai, of the Historical Section of the General Staff of the French Army (killed in the first German advance in 1914). For a copy of this 91-page essay, translated and published by the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, see "Flag Book Sources," Volume B, referred to in Preface, *supra*.



HAINAULT REGIMENT



AUXERROIS REGIMENT



ROCHAMBEAU HEADQUARTERS FLAG

for fighting at close quarters or in hand-to-hand conflict on the decks when the opposing ships drew together.

On the contrary, however, these "marines" may have been sailors ("matelots") from De Grasse's fleet (as a recent French writer assumes), 1500 of whom had rowed or sailed the boats which landed St. Simon's troops at Jamestown on September 2, 1781. In the French dictionaries "marin" has two principal meanings: 1, a sailor (synonymous with "matelot"); 2, a soldier serving on a war-vessel (known in England and America as a "marine"). "Les Combattants," throughout, in its long catalogue of the French war ships and those who manned and commanded them in their various sea-fights and maneuvers bearing on the American Revolution, mentions only gabiers (topmen), timoniers (steersmen), matelots (sailors), novices, surnuméraires (supernumeraries), mousses (cabin boys), and domestiques. The sailors are called matelots, not marins. "Les Combattants," speaking on page X of the infantry troops "garrisoned" on the various ships, says that they assisted "aux mêmes combats que les marins"; the word "marins" and not "matelots" being used.

It is possible that there were French regiments of true "marines" on some at least of the French navy ships. Balch states (volume 1, page 179) that when De Grasse and St. Simon were entreating Lafayette at Williamsburg, before the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau, to attack the British suddenly with the 5000 French and Americans assembled there, De Grasse offered to give Lafayette as an additional force not only "the *marines* on his ships, but *also* as many *sailors* as he should ask for."

Auxerre, in central France, was an ancient bishopric dating from the 3rd century. Charles V acquired the countship after Crécy (1346).

Flag Description. White Greek cross. Each of the 4 cantons is divided into two triangles by lines joining the outer edges of the cross. 1st canton: upper triangle, blue; lower, green. 2nd canton: lower triangle, blue; upper, green. 3rd canton: upper triangle, blue; lower, green. 4th canton: lower triangle, blue; upper, green.

Walsh Regiment

DAVIS and "Les Combattants" mention this regiment (one battalion only) as having been at Savannah in 1779. The French records are lacking and disclose only the names of a few of its officers, including Colonel Count de Walsh-Serrant and Major Thadee O'Brien. The names of none of its enlisted men have been preserved. Like the Dillon Regiment, it was an Irish regiment in the French service, organized in France in 1697. Balch says, however, that only the 2nd battalion was sent to the West Indies during the period of the French Alliance, and that was not until 1780, too late for the siege of Savannah; he says also that it did not go to Yorktown.

Flag Description. Even the flag of this regiment is not definitely known. Desjardins, in his plates of 1771, shows a simple flag with the usual white cross, the 1st and 4th cantons, red, and the 2nd and 3rd, a lighter color, perhaps yellow, whereas Davis (following Mouillard) describes and shows a photographic copy of an original Walsh flag, perhaps of an earlier period, with a red Greek cross which does not touch the edges of the flag and around which an edging of white is indicated by stitching, and with 4 white cantons. Davis shows in the centre of this cross the royal crest of Great Britain: on a royal crown a crowned lion, statant, guardant.

Armagnac Regiment

DAVIS says that this regiment served in America, at the siege of Savannah in 1779, and that it was formed in 1776 from part of the very old Navarre Regiment of 1563. Stone says that one of its officers was killed and two were wounded at Savannah.

Balch says, however, that it was sent to the West Indies in 1777, but did not cross to America. "Les Combattants" does not mention the regiment at all.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. All 4 cantons are yellowish-brown (feuille morte).

Grenoble Artillery Regiment

“LES Combattants” states that one company of this artillery regiment served in America under Rochambeau. But neither Balch nor Davis mentions it.

Grenoble was the capital of one of the old provinces in southeastern France. It is strongly fortified and stands over 700 feet above both banks of the River Isère.

Flag Description. White Greek cross. 1st canton, green; 2nd, yellow; 4th, green; 3rd, yellow. There are gold fleurs-de-lis on each arm of the white cross.

The Rochambeau Headquarters Flag

(SEE COLOR PLATE 10)

IN the absence of any positive information, it has been suggested that perhaps the plain white, oblong flag of the French navy was also the headquarters flag of Rochambeau at Yorktown and elsewhere. But it is well known that "in all European countries at this time the naval (and maritime) flags, and the military flags, were distinct subjects and systems."²⁰

That Marshal Rochambeau had a headquarters flag, representing the royal authority of Louis XVI over the French army in America, can hardly be doubted. According to all of the paintings of Yorktown showing the flag of Rochambeau, it was a white flag, but so also were the colonel-flags of the French regiments except for stitched white crosses, and small, colored, heraldic devices, fleurs-de-lis, etc., on some of them.

What then is the argument or the evidence, if any, for a Rochambeau flag in America, 1778 to 1783, white of field, but with relatively inconspicuous devices upon it, remembering always that Rochambeau was the king's lieutenant, the chief of his expeditionary army, and according to the imagination of that period more or less personifying him in America?

1. Desjardins, the great authority on French flags of the 17th and 18th centuries, says: "Under Louis XVI, in conformity with the ordinance of 1661, all French warships displayed the plain, entirely white pavillon . . . and were under the command of the admiral of France. Like the colonels-general of the French army,

20. From a letter of Mr. Chapin, November 14, 1939 (see Note 3 to chapter on the Royal Flags of Louis XVI, *supra*), to which Mr. Chapin adds the following: "I do not think Rochambeau by any chance would have used the naval pavillon blanc at his headquarters." Even in America, in our Revolution, 1775-1783, we followed the flag-precedents of Europe, our navy more or less adopting and flying the stars and stripes, after the flag "resolve" of Congress, June 14, 1777; but with our army evading the subject, or adopting substitutes, until at last, in 1834, our field artillery regiments were permitted to carry the stars and stripes, and in 1841 our infantry regiments.

the admiral of the fleet bore this plain white flag, which was hoisted to the top of his main-mast."²¹ But, apparently, the flags of the colonels-general of the army were not just plain white flags. Desjardins himself shows one, of the year 1635, on which, in the middle of the white field, was painted a blue sun, of fair size although not large enough to be well defined or perhaps even visible a short distance away on a flag waving in the wind.²²

2. While it is true, broadly speaking, that, in the 18th century, flags bearing the royal arms of France, or the strictly royal flags like the blue banner and the cornette blanche,²³ were not carried except when the king was personally present, yet, as indicated by Desjardins,²⁴ an exception was sometimes made, permitting the royal emblems to be borne in the field, in the absence of the king, by a commander-in-chief of the King's forces. This was Rochambeau's position in America, 1778-1783.

3. We must, therefore, seek a flag with a white field. And, seemingly, this white flag should have devices painted upon it, to distinguish it from the admiral's flag of the French navy.

4. In 1939, after long research, Henry D. Valentine, of the Color Guard of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York, finally discovered in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City a French flag, theretofore unnoticed in this connection, of which Stephen V. Grancsay, Curator of Armor at the Museum, says: "The flag is an original made of white silk painted with a gold fleur-de-lis in each corner, and an ornamental cartouche of the royal arms of France (gold fleurs-de-lis on a blue field) surrounded by palm branches and surmounted by a crown, in the center. It dates in the late eighteenth century and was purchased from the dealer Kahlert of Berlin, Germany, in 1913."²⁵ Can this possibly have been a facsimile of Marshal Rochambeau's flag? It is undoubtedly the type of headquarters flag which he might have displayed, as the commander of the King's expeditionary army.²⁶ That it was Rochambeau's actual flag in the campaign can

21. "Les Drapeaux Francais," by Gustave Desjardins; 1874; page 84.

22. Same; Plate XXXIV.

23. See chapter on the Royal Flags of Louis XVI; supra.

24. See same chapter; supra. Also "Les Drapeaux Francais," by Gustave Desjardins; 1874; footnote on page 51.

25. Letter dated March 28, 1941 (in "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, supra).

26. Mr. Valentine describes this flag more in detail, as follows (letter of June 10, 1940, with enclosure, including a photograph of the Museum flag itself): Heavy white silk; 130 by 158.7 centimeters; in the centre a blue shield about 9 inches high edged with gold, charged with 3 gold fleurs-de-lis arranged two above and one below; around the shield gold palm branches, making a fringe; above the shield a gold crown with a red cap or lining; in each corner of flag a gold fleur-de-lis about 5 inches high the stem or base of which points toward the corner of flag. (This letter is in "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, supra.)

hardly be assumed, owing to the small size of the fold or hem provided on one side for receiving the staff. No such staff as would have been required for a flag of that size in the field could have been fitted into this narrow fold or pocket. Attention must also be directed to the position, with relation to the staff, of the heraldic device painted in the centre of the flag. It is found to be at right angles to the staff, thus suggesting that the staff was fixed or held or carried in a horizontal position. If we examine, however, those of the "colonel-flags" which have devices upon them, as shown on the plates of 1771 of Desjardins, we find that they were invariably (crowns, harps, etc.) parallel with the staff. Either we must conclude, therefore, that this original flag in the Metropolitan Museum of Art was carried in the field with its staff horizontal instead of vertical, or that it was for indoor or pageant use. A number of the flags shown in the colored plates of 1771 of Desjardins were clearly pageant or tableau flags or decorations and nothing more, although quite surely they were faithful replicas of the field flags themselves.

5. What do the artists suggest: those who painted the historic scene at Yorktown in 1781 and who placed a flag near or behind the figure of Rochambeau?

(a) Trumbull, who was an American officer, in our War of the Revolution, although not present at Yorktown, shows in his famous painting in the capitol at Washington, on the right of the French line, a waving, rather hazy white flag (which might, however, have had insignia upon it), with cords and a gold scarf from the spearhead of the staff.

(b) August Couder's painting, shown at the Paris Salon of 1837, of "The Taking of Yorktown; Generals Rochambeau and Washington Giving their Final Orders for the Attack," shows the Rochambeau flag as white, but with no details discernible.²⁷

(c) The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has a print of the Couder painting. It has also a print, "Capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown," engraved by Torley after Vernier (1831-1887). "This," says Mr. Grancsay of the Museum staff, "is from an unidentified French book antedating 1883, and shows the flag of France, plain white, with the French royal arms crowned in the centre."²⁸ Whence this artist derived his information we do

27. Mr. Grancsay of the Metropolitan Museum (see paragraph 4, above), says in a letter, dated April 12, 1941, that there is an engraved print of this painting in the Print Department of the Museum. There is one also in the Art Division of New York Public Library.

28. Letters of Mr. Grancsay: April 12, August 8, 1941 (in "Flag Book Sources," see Preface, supra).

not know, but nevertheless he paints a flag which is practically a copy of the one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. He may have drawn entirely from his own imagination, but the chances are that he went to some authority or some scholar in some French museum for his flag details. He may even have had access to the Rochambeau flag itself, or to some now-forgotten description of it.

(d) Paul North Rice, Chief of the Reference Department, New York Public Library, says: "The American History Room finds an illustration called 'Surrender at Yorktown.' The right background is apparently a white flag with fleurs-de-lis. The source is given as 'an old print,' opp. p. 328 in Sir George MacMunn's *The American War of Independence in Perspective* (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd., 1939)." ²⁹

(e) Dumaresq's famous painting of "The Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown," shows, back of Rochambeau, a large white flag, fluttering in the breeze, with one fleur-de-lis showing distinctly in the lower corner next to the staff, and one other, not quite so plainly visible, on the upper corner of the flag next to the staff. The rest of the field might have devices upon it or it might not, this and the other flags in the picture being very illusively shown. ³⁰

6. In conclusion may we not decide that the flag picture in connection with this article is, for present purposes, until we can find something better, the most likely representation of Marshal Rochambeau's headquarters flag of 1778-1783? It is a copy of the original unidentified French flag of the 18th century on exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; and agrees also, in its white field and its ornamentation, with the conceptions, so far as discernible, of the artists who portrayed the Yorktown surrender, during the century or half-century following the event.

29. See his letters dated April 1 and August 11, 1941. (Also in "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, supra.)

30. An uncolored newspaper print of this painting, which was exhibited in the Paris salon of 1875, appeared on page five of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* Magazine Section, of Sunday, October 18, 1931. Charles Edouard Armand Dumaresq lived 1826-1895. (Copy in "Flag Book Sources"; see Preface, supra.)

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